

AL LIBRARY
OF MICH

JUL 29 1936

Current HISTORY



August, 1936

Price 25 Cents

an interview with OTTO

by Dorothy Waring

major party platforms

by Wallace S. Sayre

sterilization

by J. H. Landman

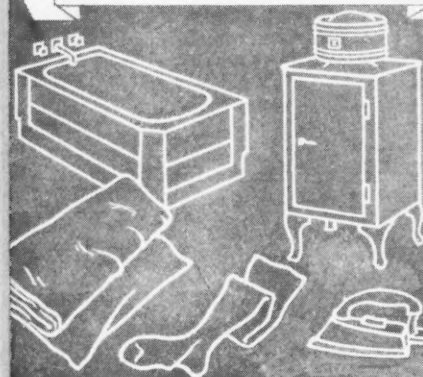
| | |
|---|-------------------|
| Leon Blum | Johannes Steel |
| Tugwelltown | Duncan Aikman |
| Battleship's Doom | Lord Strabolgi |
| The Latest French Revolution | Frank C. Hanighen |
| Will Austria go Democratic? | W. Walter Crotch |
| Other Articles . . . Chronology . . . Log of Major Currents | |

THEY SAY: a new digest
of world-wide comment

PUBLISHED BY CURRENT HISTORY, INCORPORATED



1900 - Not one family in a hundred owned a horse and buggy



1936 - Three families out of four have automobiles

More Goods for More People

IN 1900, not one family in a hundred owned a horse and buggy; today, three out of four have cars. One family in thirteen had a telephone; now, one family in two. In 1900, modern plumbing and central heating were luxuries—less than 500,000 homes had electricity—radio and electric refrigeration were unknown. Today, 21 million homes are wired; 7 million families own electric refrigerators; 22 million have radio receivers.

In 1921, a MAZDA lamp cost 45 cents; it now costs 15 cents. You receive 80 per cent more light for your dollar because of greatly increased lamp efficiency and a lower average electric rate for the home. General Electric research developed these lower-cost lamps, helped devise more economical ways of generating and distributing electricity—to bring better light to more people at less cost

Today, electricity is vital to industry, for the manufacture of most goods—from bathtubs to textiles, foods to furnaces—to meet the increasing needs and the purses of millions. In this progress, G-E research and engineering have ever been in the forefront. And still, in the Research Laboratory, in Schenectady, General Electric scientists continue the search for new knowledge—from which come savings, new industries, increased employment, more goods for more people.

G-E research has saved the public from ten to one hundred dollars for every dollar it has earned for General Electric

GENERAL  **ELECTRIC**

Current HISTORY

For August

M. E. TRACY
Publisher

LEONARD M. LEONARD
Assistant to the Publisher

JOHN C. CASMAN
General Manager

SPECIAL ARTICLES

| | |
|--|----|
| An Interview With Otto | |
| <i>By Dorothy Waring</i> | 33 |
| Will Austria Go Democratic? | |
| <i>By W. Walter Crotch</i> | 39 |
| Battleship's Doom | |
| <i>By Lord Strabolgi</i> | 45 |
| Major Party Platforms of 1936 | |
| <i>By Wallace S. Sayre</i> | 51 |
| The Latest French Revolution | |
| <i>By Frank C. Hanighen</i> | 57 |
| Leon Blum | |
| <i>By Johannes Steel</i> | 62 |
| Chinese Puzzle | |
| <i>By H. R. Ekins</i> | 65 |
| The Holy Land Looks West | |
| <i>By David Goldberg</i> | 69 |
| Tagore | |
| <i>By Krishnalal Shridharani</i> | 77 |
| Taxes in the Soviet | |
| <i>By Albert Handy</i> | 83 |
| Sterilization | |
| <i>By J. H. Landman</i> | 91 |
| "Tugwelltown" | |
| <i>By Duncan Aikman</i> | 97 |

REGULAR FEATURES

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| The World in Books | 2 |
| Log of Major Currents | |
| At Home 9 | Abroad 17 |
| Science 28 | |
| Authors in this Issue | 31 |
| They Say | 103 |
| Chronology | 116 |
| Speaking of Travel | 122 |

Current History. Volume XLIV. No. 5. August, 1936. Published Monthly by Current History, Inc., at 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy, \$3 a year; two years \$5; three years \$7; Canada, 75c a year additional; foreign, \$1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new address. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Entered in Canada as second-class matter. Copyright, 1936, by Current History, Inc. Printed in U. S. A.

THE WORLD

IN BOOKS

What answer shall I take back to my people whom you have promised to defend?

—Haile Selassie before the League of Nations.

THE Italo-Ethiopian affair has been scrubbed, soaked, and rinsed in thickest whitewash by the gentlemen at Geneva, who suddenly seem to have discovered that Il Duce isn't such a bad fellow after all, and that this business of sanctions and reprisals may be going a little too far.

But Haile Selassie, who hurried to Geneva to protest that the League Covenant had promised him the security of his Empire and had specified that territory acquired by force would not be recognized, found he was shouting against the wind. The League did him the courtesy, however, of officially rejecting his plea on official stationery, albeit the decision was a masterpiece of gnarled technicality, ambiguity, and evasion.

Such a rejection, forecasts Princess Asfa Yilma in *Haile Selassie* (Appleton-Century, \$4) may mean an immediate voiding of all treaties and agreements among nations. For if the world has turned its back on Ethiopia and has ignored its pledges to maintain that country's territorial integrity, what assurance is there that there will not be similar back turnings and repudiations in the future?

Princess Asfa Yilma, a member of the royal house of Ethiopia, and a descendant, as is Haile Selassie, of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, wrote her book months before the historic League of Nations decision, which ended sanctions against Italy, was handed down. She wrote it, in fact, before Mussolini's low-salaried killers swaggered into Addis Ababa with their assorted death contrivances and pronouncements of victory. But that the book does not record the final dénouement of the Emperor and his ancient kingdom does not detract from its worth as the most comprehensive work published thus far dealing with the general history of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, and the Italian conflict. As the story of one of the world's oldest nations, it is absorbing and compelling reading; as a picture of the personality of Selassie, it is intimate and appealing, and as an indictment of imperialism, it is vitally effective.

From the Princess' characterization of the Emperor, one sees a "sad and disillusioned" little

man, puzzled somewhat at the failure of the only court to which he could go to prevent the forcible theft of his home and country. He has been sold out, and those who formerly displayed themselves as his friends and protectors are now revealed as vultures-in-waiting, standing in line for whatever crumbs of oil or similar contracts can be thrown their way by Il Duce.

What answer shall I take back to my people whom you have promised to defend?

Solomon and Sheba

Princess Asfa Yilma has included in her book the story of Solomon and Sheba as part of the historical background of Ethiopia. A full-sized work dealing with this theme has been written by Post Wheeler, former American Minister to Albania, in a book entitled *The Golden Legend of Ethiopia* (Appleton-Century, \$2). There are few romances in fiction which have been able to compare with the tale of King Solomon and Maqeda, Queen of Axum and Sheba, or Ethiopia. Certainly, what novelist could hope to cast such characters? Solomon, pitting his wit and wisdom against the steadfast determination of the beautiful Sheba, who sought to hold back the tides of ripened courtship.

Mr. Wheeler's theme loses nothing in the retelling. It would seem to provide, in fact, an interesting background study for a thorough understanding of the current Ethiopian situation. Menelek I, son of Solomon and Sheba, for example, was founder of the present royal line and ancestor of Haile Selassie, "last" Emperor of Ethiopia.

Europe and Europeans

Now that the actual conflict in Ethiopia is ended, there are many who see neither threat nor imminence of war. They will find ample reassurance in Count Carlo Sforza's statement in *Europe and Europeans* (Bobbs-Merrill, \$2.75) that "no one in Europe save a few crazy brains believes in war any more—in the advantages of war . . ."

Count Sforza was an active player on the chessboard of international diplomacy for many years, but he withdrew when Benito Mussolini came charging into Rome in 1922 with a show of bluster and might which scared the royalty into giving him the run of the house. Since

Current HISTORY

Emil Lengyel—Austria's stirring gamble, who will win by it, and who will lose.

Tibor Eckhardt—the leader of the Hungarian Opposition looks at Europe's woes.

Edward Levinson—the story of strikebreaking, American industry's black spot.

•

Albert Handy: The weight of taxes upon the American home.

Joseph H. Baird: A sequel to "Small Business in the Soviet."

Rexford G. Tugwell: What the RA proposes to do about drought.

Richard L. Neuberger: Power projects in the United States.

•

in the **SEPTEMBER** *issue*

CURRENT HISTORY,
63 Park Row,
New York, N. Y.

C. H. August

Please enter this subscription, for which I inclose check for \$..... ☐ One year (\$3). \$.....

☐ Two years (\$5).

Name

Address

Add \$.75 per year for Canada, and \$1.25 for foreign postage.

that time, Count Sforza has devoted himself to a study, as the title of his book would imply, of Europe and Europeans. He believes that groups which purport to favor conflict or which have taken on a "bellicose air" do so only for reasons of politics, or for defense of caste interests. And even those groups, he adds, in reality hate war; "they would very much like to talk about it all the time, and never make it."

Rulers and nations generally like to flaunt the war bogey, the author suggests, because it affords them a peg on which to hang their increasingly severe control over the people. And under dominant and even oppressive rule, there are many of the prudent who will draw deeply into the well of rationalization to assure themselves they can keep their inner conscience and philosophy clear, even if they keep time with the goosestep. But even those who feign to obey the demagog in power must undergo deg-

radation; "the coward begins with a reigned silence, but passes soon to demonstrations of respect and even enthusiasm for those whom he still loathes from the bottom of his soul. . . ."

Count Carlo is perhaps one of the best-informed of a growing number of anti-nationalists. His *Europe and Europeans* will be widely read and discussed by those groups advocating a new and refurbished organization of the states in Europe, and very likely by students of mass psychology.

Slocombe's Memoirs

While Count Sforza sees Europe and its leading personalities through the eyes of an experienced diplomat, George Slocombe, author of *The Tumult and the Shouting*, (Macmillan, \$3.50) views the scene as the dean of England's foreign correspondents.

There have been many recent books based

Books Reviewed in This Issue

GENERAL

| BOOK | AUTHOR | PUBLISHER | PRICE |
|--|---|----------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Haile Selassie</i> | Princess Asfa Yilma | Appleton-Century | \$3 |
| <i>The Golden Legend of Ethiopia</i> | Post Wheeler | Appleton-Century | \$2 |
| <i>Europe and Europeans</i> | Count Carlo Sforza | Bobbs-Merrill | \$2.75 |
| <i>The Tumult and the Shouting</i> | George Slocombe | Macmillan | \$3.50 |
| <i>Walks and Talks Abroad</i> | Sir Arnold Wilson | Oxford | \$2.50 |
| <i>Two Worlds</i> | Lester Cohen | Covici-Friede | \$3.50 |
| <i>Gambetta and the National Defence</i> | J. P. T. Bury | Longmans, Green | \$7 |
| <i>The Career of Théophile Delcassé</i> | Charles W. Porter | University of Pennsylvania Press | \$3.50 |
| <i>Washington and His Aides-de-Camp</i> | Emily Stone Whiteley | Macmillan | \$2.50 |
| <i>The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations</i> | Joyce O. Hertzler | McGraw-Hill | \$4 |
| <i>World History: The Growth of Western Civilization</i> | R. Flenley W. N. Weech | Dutton | \$3.50 |
| <i>A National Transportation Policy</i> | C. S. Duncan | Appleton-Century | \$3 |
| <i>Effective Citizenship</i> | Millard S. Darling Benjamin B. Greenberg | Prentice-Hall | \$1.40 |
| <i>The Discussion of Human Affairs</i> | Charles A. Beard | Macmillan | \$1.75 |

FICTION

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------|--------|
| <i>Gone with the Wind</i> | Margaret Mitchell | Macmillan | \$3 |
| <i>Waterloo</i> | Manuel Komroff | Coward-McCann | \$2.50 |
| <i>Eyeless in Gaza</i> | Aldous Huxley | Harper | \$2.50 |

on the "confidential memoirs" of leading American newspaper men and writers. The fad seems to have been concentrated on these shores, however, and there have been few books, outside those of the easily-provoked-to-writing Lloyd George, which have dealt with the "heretofore unknown" facts of the Continent by Continental writers. *The Tumult and the Shouting*, happily, is more than an attempt to claim belated recognition for England in the field of journalistic reminiscing. It is a book which was needed. Mr. Slocombe was there with his paper and pencil, and sometimes his voice, too, whenever things happened that subsequently found their way into the history books.

Slocombe was the type of a chap who could go bristling up to Mussolini, stick his beard in Il Duce's face, say "Boo!" and get away with it, in or out of Italy. And when Slocombe thought that conferences or meetings he covered were not going just right, he might step in and say: "This is the way it should be done." And many times it was.

There was the Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1927. Great Britain and Soviet Russia were none too friendly as the result of the celebrated police raid on the London Headquarters of Arcos. A reconciliation between the two leading nations seemed impossible, and it did not appear as though Sir Austen Chamberlain and Maxim Litvinov could be brought together where matters could be straightened out. So Slocombe got busy. He hustled around Geneva, visiting, phoning, and wiring. Result? Litvinov called on Chamberlain and the international tension over strained Anglo-Russian relations had cleared.

Slocombe rushed to India in 1930 when Mahatma Gandhi, in jail, steadfastly refused to give ground to Great Britain in his famous "eleven demands." Slocombe sat down with the Mahatma on the stone veranda outside his cell and went to work. "I have never met any man more utterly honest, more transparently sincere, less given to the egotism, self-conscious pride, opportunism, and ambition which are found in greater or less degree in all the other great political figures of the world," Slocombe writes. But above all, Gandhi was reasonable; Slocombe prevailed upon him to eliminate seven of his original demands, and to be more flexible in the remaining four.

Slocombe numbers among his character portraits the by-now-almost-legendary "Savage Messiah"—Gaudier-Brzeska, and Briand, Tchicherin, Mussolini, Blum, James Joyce, Primo de Rivera, Lincoln Steffens, Anatole France, and Jo Davidson, to name only a few. It would be difficult, in fact, to draw up a list which could contain as many as five important national or international figures who do not figure somewhere in Slocombe's story. *The Tumult and the Shouting* is made of the right

stuff; it is a prescription for those who want to get away from the "I-was-born-and-I-did, etc." type of autobiography. For the book is a mirror, in many respects, of current history and of the people who weave it.

Walks and Talks Abroad

Another book by an English author having American publication is *Walks and Talks Abroad* (Oxford, \$2.50), by Sir Arnold Wilson, British diplomat and member of the House of Commons. Sir Arnold has definite ideas on English foreign policy, government, and economic philosophies. He has collected his thoughts and notes, based on the events of the last few years, into a thought-provoking group of essays.

Sir Arnold wants England to have peace with her neighbors—with France, and Germany, and Italy; with all others, in fact, except Soviet Russia. The U.S.S.R. to Sir Arnold is something less than a noble experiment in human values and human relations. Russia to him represents an unnecessary evil. Europe, he believes, should recognize this evil and "speak to Soviet Russia and the rest of Asia with a single voice." Sir Arnold points out, too, that the reported internal strength of the Soviet is not in keeping with the real facts, although he acknowledges that Russia is the "greatest and most predatory of all colonial powers . . ."

Alone, Great Britain cannot "speak" to Soviet Russia. The rest of Europe must use its voice, too. But where are the eligibles? France has almost fallen all over herself in her eagerness to make an alliance with the Soviet. Germany, while a logical candidate, in the author's opinion, is not proceeding along a domestic policy "acceptable to any Englishman who is true to his national tradition." This tradition, he asserts, rules out intolerance in racial matters. Sir Arnold points out, however, that Germany is not the only sinner; Russia, Mexico, Spain, Japan, and even the United States can find official or unofficial repression of certain racial

ROSICRUCIAN SECRET TEACHINGS

RARE truths are offered to those who seek to use them solely for the perfection of their inner faculties and in the mastering of the daily obstacles of life. The International Organization of Rosicrucians will be happy to receive the requests of those who believe that worthiness and sincerity determine the right for one to have such wisdom. To them, a copy of "The Secret Heritage," a fascinating book, will be given without price. Let this book guide you to the conservative plan whereby you may widen your scope of personal power. Simply address your letter to:

Scribe A. O. M.

AMORC TEMPLE
San Jose California

groups without looking too sharply. Of the remaining European powers, Italy seems to be too solicitous of the good-will of France to raise its voice or even make faces at the Soviet, and Austria can do little else right now except keep its territory intact and hold off the fidgeting feet of both Hitler and Mussolini.

But Sir Arnold's general, long-range, objective for Great Britain is there. When it comes to a choice of Germany or Russia, England should not have to think twice before stacking up against the Soviet. Similarly, differences with or among other European nations should be put aside for the more important business at hand.

Walks and Talks Abroad may prove to be a prediction of the turn history may take during the next decade. And if it does, Sir Arnold will probably be too busy in Parliament pointing out implications in this and that to say "I told you so."

Mr. Cohen Writes Again

A marked contrast to *Walks and Talks Abroad*, at least in the authors' opinions of Soviet Russia, is Lester Cohen's *Two Worlds*, (Covici-Friede, \$3.50). Mr. Cohen, unlike Sir Arnold, actually visited Russia and came away with a "profound respect for Soviet achievement, and a love of the Russian people." And communism is one of the two worlds implied in his title. The other world is the sphere of capitalism, where the only problems solved are those of the capitalists in the acquisition of more wealth at the expense of the people.

Mr. Cohen hurtled into the literary spotlight some years ago with his *Sweepings*, a novel which sold well and sent him the way of all promising young writers—to the Hollywood cinema factories, where copy for scenarios is ground out, usually at a fair return to the writers. But Mr. Cohen decided to make the trip back to pure writing; more than that, he decided to make a trip around the world and record his observation of peoples and their governments. *Two Worlds* is the result.

There are few peoples or countries which evoked such responsiveness in Mr. Cohen as that represented by the U.S.S.R. England, France, India, China, and Japan get verbal spankings, and the author has little sympathy with other nations operated by, of, and for the moneyed classes.

Two Worlds is both a travel book and a not-

unimportant addition to our rapidly mounting stock of literature on, or of, the social scene. As a book of travel, it is vastly entertaining; as a social philosophy, its conclusions may be questioned by many, but its sincerity by none.

Two French Statesmen

Few recent biographies can be read side by side to such mutual advantage as J. P. T. Bury's *Gambetta and the National Defence* (Longmans, Green, \$7) and *The Career of Théophile Delcassé* by Charles W. Porter (University of Pennsylvania Press, \$3.50). Leon Michel Gambetta, who denounced the Napoleonic government and became founder of the Third French Republic and subsequently its "Dictator", had a political career remarkably like that of Théophile Delcassé, one of France's greatest Foreign Ministers and war-time diplomats. Gambetta, in fact, was Delcassé's "idol and his ideal"; "his genius improvised armies which, though unable to throw back the invader, had at least saved the honor of the country, the only thing left for France to lose," Delcassé wrote early in his career of Gambetta and the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.

Both Gambetta and Delcassé fell from power midway in their careers and retired into temporary obscurity, only to come back later and dominate the political life of France. Gambetta retreated into exile in San Sebastian, Spain, in 1871, after the war with Prussia, and his influence in French politics seemed forever gone. Yet when the French political situation again called for a leader, Gambetta was there—Gambetta in whom the public seemed to have lost all faith—Gambetta, who was born of Italian ancestry and who did not assume French citizenship until he was twenty-one. And Gambetta was equal to the occasion, emerging as the only great man of the Government of the National Defence.

Delcassé "resigned" as Minister of Foreign Affairs, a post which he had held for seven years, in 1905 when his system of making alliances and ententes with other nations came in for severe criticism. He was back six years later, however, as Minister of Marine in the Cabinet of Earnest Monis, and exerted more influence in the foreign affairs of France than ever before.

Delcassé's activities as a French diplomat, based largely upon the teachings of Gambetta, did much to contribute to that "fatal division of Europe into two grasping, antagonistic, and mutually suspicious armed camps out of which grew the war", Mr. Porter writes. For Théophile Delcassé was chief among those who played with the forces of militarism, imperialism, secret alliances, the press, and diplomatic irresponsibility which found its culmination in the World War. In this respect, Mr. Porter

PAMPHLETS

"Roosevelt Revalued," "Brain Trussed," "Are You Better Off?," "Franklinstein." 10c. each pamphlet. The Consumers Guild, Inc., Dept. B, East 43d St., New York, N. Y.

likens him to Bismarck. "Bismarck seized Alsace-Lorraine," the author says. "Delcassé restored the lost provinces to France." Delcassé did more than help bring on the war; he helped to win it.

Mr. Bury has concerned his book more with the period of Gambetta's career leading up to his "retirement" in 1871 than with the subsequent events of the Second Empire or the Government of National Defence. Both *Gambetta and the National Defence* and *The Career of Théophile Delcassé* are important studies of two of France's leading diplomatic figures, whose almost interlocking careers dominated French politics from the end of the Napoleonic era to the close of the World War.

Genius Outside the General

It is interesting to note that Mr. Bury attributes Gambetta's failure on the fields of battle to a lack of military genius among his leading officers. The importance of first-rank military assistance to a commander is illustrated very vividly in Emily Stone Whiteley's *Washington and His Aides-de-Camp* (Macmillan, \$2.50). There were thirty-two aides and secretaries to Washington during the eight years of the Revolutionary War. To Washington, they were "eyes and ears and hands and feet, and he used them as he did his own faculties and members—unsparingly and for the greatest good and glory of his country," Mrs. Whiteley says.

Chief among the aides and secretaries were Tench Tilghman, to whom Washington is believed to have been most attached; Joseph Reed who, with Major Thomas Mifflin, were the first appointees made to Washington's staff; Alexander Hamilton, an "ambitious youth" with "brilliant qualities" appreciated by Washington; Richard Kidder Meade, of Virginia, who was Washington's best "riding aide", and John Laurens, of South Carolina, for whom Washington had a deep and lasting friendship.

Mrs. Whiteley has performed a service in giving recognition to the generally unrecognized heroes of the Revolution, satellites in every sense whose brilliance was dimmed by the greater light that was Washington.

The Month in Fiction

Definitely outstanding in the field of fiction last month were *Gone with the Wind* by Margaret Mitchell (Macmillan, \$3); *Waterloo* by Manuel Komroff (Coward-McCann, \$2.50), and *Eyeless in Gaza*, by Aldous Huxley (Harper, \$2.50).

Miss Mitchell's novel, a feast of seasoned prose, is a story of the Civil War and Reconstruction days. Built along the lines of Anthony Adverse (1,037 pages) it will be on lists of best—
(Continued on page 128)

"One might suggest that nominee LANDON delay building his intended gold standard until he has had a chance to read this book"

says Current History

The Downfall OF THE Gold Standard

by GUSTAV CASSEL

"A book for all who wish . . . the clearest account of one of the most perplexing and fundamental of problems . . . the history of money. By a recognized authority." — *Book-of-the-Month Club News*. \$2.25

An American Experiment

by E. M. Hugh Jones and E. A. Radice. A detached and impartial first-hand survey, by two English economists, of American social and economic conditions under the New Deal. "Lucid and concise."—*N. Y. Sun*. "Sound and reliable."—*N. Y. Times*. \$2.50

Walks and Talks Abroad

by Sir Arnold Wilson. "Illuminating in the extreme . . . will shock some readers and encourage others . . . Five years from now it may seem to have been written by a prophet."—*N. Y. Times* \$2.50

Air Power And Armies

by J. C. Slessor. What effectiveness may be expected of air forces in conjunction with land forces based upon the experiences of the World War. With maps. \$4.00

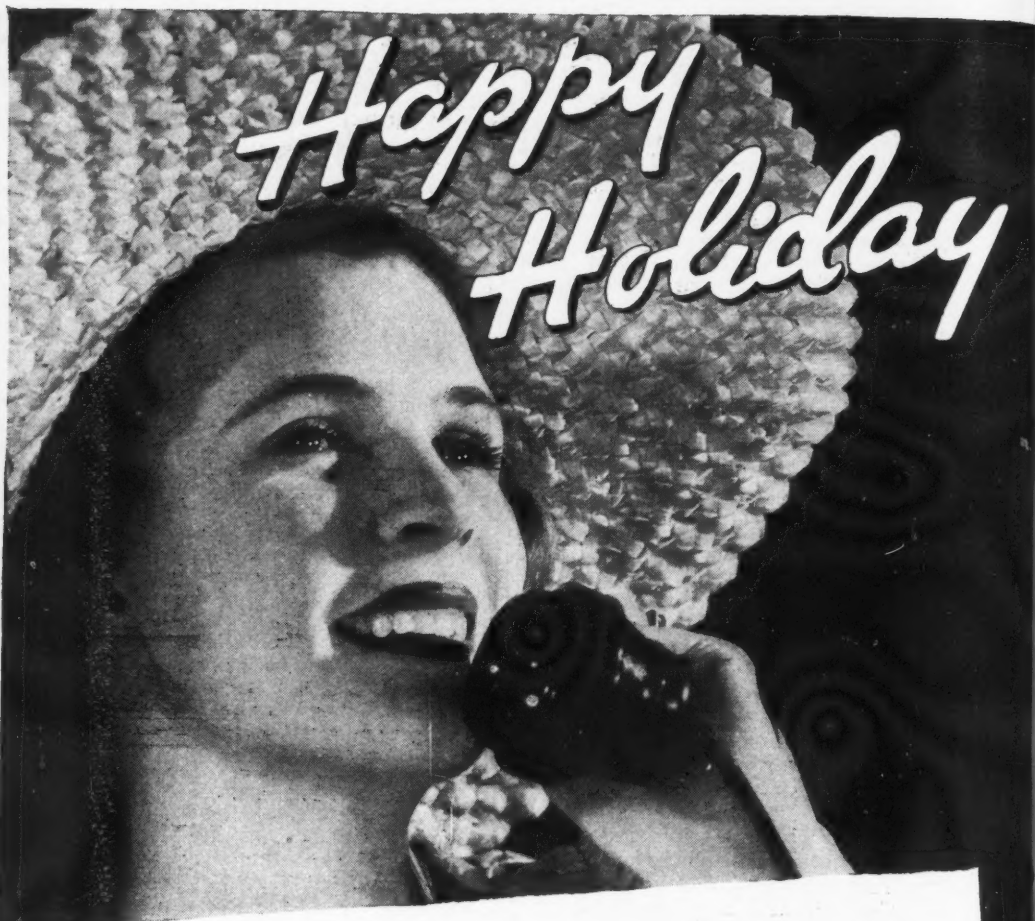
RAW MATERIALS and COLONIES

Prepared under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. 85c

GERMANY and the RHINELAND

Addresses by Harold Nicolson, Sir Norman Angell, Lord Lothian, and others. 50c

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
114 Fifth Avenue, New York



THIS is vacation time. Millions of people are away. Other millions are getting ready for trips—to mountains and seashore and lakes—to the country or to foreign lands.

Distance doesn't matter any more. Your family may be scattered temporarily to the four winds—children at camp, mother visiting back home, father at the office—but all may be reunited, instantly, by the calling of a number.

The telephone helps in many ways to make your vacation happy

and carefree. Say the word and it will run down to the store and do your last-minute shopping. Stop off at the railroad, bus or steamship office for information. Enable you to reserve hotel accommodations. Say good-bye to friends or carry a reassuring word of your safe arrival.

Day or night you can be many places—quickly, efficiently, and at small cost—by telephone.



BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

Current HISTORY

AUGUST 1936

LOG of MAJOR CURRENTS

AT HOME:

MEASURED by such precepts as were in vogue up to the great War, or even during the Coolidge era, the trend of American political thought is definitely progressive, or liberal, as some prefer to call it. In the five platforms thus far presented, it is difficult to find more than hints of that stand-pat-ism about which we have heard so much. Most of the so-called radicals are given a fair, if not always a sympathetic, hearing, while most conservatives appear willing to consider advanced ideas. A Communist leader is given time on the air; the Socialist platform gets good publicity; and the Republican Party comes out for old-age pensions, marketing cooperatives, and the wholesale buying of land for public use.

The speed and revolutionary character of mechanical progress has trained us to tolerate startling innovations. As a matter of record, we have experienced one of the greatest revolutions in human history during the last hundred years. Moderately old men can point to greater changes since they were children than occurred during

some periods of a thousand years in the past. Horizons have broadened with bewildering rapidity, shaking faith in many ancient landmarks and sometimes spreading the human intellect to a point of shallowness.

The notion that political change is made necessary by mechanical change grows more and more dominant. On every hand one hears the assertion that statecraft must borrow not only its policies but its ideals from industry. It has become a virtual obsession with us Americans to see a thoroughgoing analogy between the industrial and political systems. We seek inventors to improve government just as they have improved machinery. But—and this is where the analogy comes to a dead end—we expect them to do this without a scientific background or the application of scientific methods.

To put it another way, mechanical progress has come from the bottom up, from study and experimenting by individuals, or small groups of individuals. But we are expecting political progress to come from the top down, and through experiments which involve nation-wide credit and nation-wide risk. If, and when, mechanical experiments failed, as they often have, the public

was not injured. That explains why the public has suffered so little from the failures and gained so much from the successes. It would be just as well perhaps to keep this thought in mind with regard to political experiments.

Political changes are inevitable, of course. We cannot hope to advance without them. The all-important question, however, is whether to blunder into them on a grand and dreamy scale, or to fall back on the slow, exacting, scientific processes which have accomplished so much in the field of mechanics.

While the general character of necessary political changes is often indicated beyond the shadow of a doubt, they include a technique which cannot be appreciated, much less applied, without painstaking care. Take the relief problem, for instance; it is perfectly obvious that when a highly organized industrial system throws millions of people out of work through no fault of their own, we have little choice but to provide them with the necessities of life. But how to do this without destroying confidence and self-respect, without creating a permanent factor of dependency and a permanent social burden, is a different and a vastly more perplexing task. Naturally enough, we find ourselves hopelessly befuddled over the question of how to reduce relief through gradual reemployment. We were totally unprepared for the problem. We had no idea that it could, or would, arise. We lacked anything like a comprehensive grasp of its nature, much less of the practical ways in which to meet it, and we still lack anything like accurate information as to its size or source. We do not know within a million how many unemployed there are in this country; how many of them should be classified as employable; how many of them have held, or would like to hold, permanent

jobs. There is such wide disagreement as to facts, which ought to be easily obtainable, on the part of those who are supposed to know, that the average man finds himself badly confused and that pure guesswork enjoys about as good a rating as official statistics.

Courts and the Constitution

An unscientific attitude toward politics, statecraft, and government accounts for the constant development of unexpected situations and the weird improvising of programs to meet them. The utter inability to foresee what is just around the corner is, perhaps, the saddest commentary on American leadership and American public opinion as they have been produced by the most expensive educational system in this world. As a people we seem totally unable to guess what will happen next, even though it come about as a natural consequence of what we have been doing. One could cite innumerable examples in point. Three months ago, we were assuming that the Constitution and the Supreme Court would be paramount issues in this campaign. We took it for granted that the Democratic Party would resent those smashing decisions by which important phases of the New Deal were outlawed and would demand relief by way of Constitutional amendments, or curbs on the judiciary. We took it for granted that the Republican Party would express unequivocal loyalty to the Constitution as it had been interpreted by those decisions. No doubt such sentiments existed among the rank and file of both parties, but the official utterances are so tame and compromising as to be almost meaningless.

The Democratic Party pledges itself to go forward with the New Deal, with the half that has been scrapped presumably included, but without strongly



THE GRIM REAPER

—United Feature Service

or specifically challenging Constitutional limitations as established by the Supreme Court. The Republican Party, while glorifying the Constitution and the Supreme Court, is quite content to follow a candidate who declares for an amendment to the former, if adequate laws to protect women and children cannot be enacted without it.

Average people find it hard to see how the New Deal can be preserved or resurrected without expanding powers of the Federal Government, either by Constitutional amendments or a more liberal construction of Constitutional provisions by the Supreme Court. Average people are rather surprised at the lack of more definite expressions on this issue. Rightly or wrongly, they attribute this lack to the pussyfooting which has come to play such a prominent part in practical politics and which causes most of the platitudes and pronouncements to be treated with indifference, if not skepticism.

Old Man Weather Intervenes

A third party, a labor war, and a drought—all unlooked for—served to complicate, if not to alter, the political outlook. This is particularly true of the last. White-hot weather has bleached not only the grain crop, but the program of crop control through subsidized reduction. Those who hope to adjust supply to demand by paying farmers to plant less, find themselves likely to be caught short. Buyers are hedging, sellers are holding, and city consumers are waiting anxiously to see how much more bread and meat are going to cost.

Such a condition can hardly fail to affect opinions and votes. It were profitless to rehash the gloomy reports and statistics which have been decorating the front page of every great newspaper. Millions of bushels of wheat, corn, and rye have withered beyond recall. An untold number of farmers



DON'T LET IT RATTLE YOU!

—Christian Science Monitor

have lost, not only a season's work, but their cash reserves as well. No less than 130,000 families which honestly tried to be self-sustaining, and who supposed they had become self-sustaining, are compelled to accept temporary relief. Small wonder that Secretary Wallace speculates in the possibility of a changing climate.

Farmers fortunate enough to dwell in regions of adequate rainfall can depend on good prices and ready markets. Some of their prosperity, however, will come at the expense of ruined neighbors. Nature has done more than her share in helping to balance conditions between agriculture and industry. Barring some miracle, there will be little cause to worry about overstocked grain-bins and exportable surpluses. This is the second time within two years that Nature has furnished us with a grim reminder that she can be depended upon to curtail crops every so often and that scarcity needs no human assistance.

Labor Troubles

Should steel be organized? If so, should the organizing be done on a craft, or on an industrial, union basis? Is organized labor about to split over this issue, or can a common meeting-ground be discovered?

On July 6, John L. Lewis, recognized leader of the industrial union movement, made an address over the radio in which he called upon steel workers to organize, warning them that industry would "provoke strife and bloodshed" in an effort to prevent such organization.

On July 7, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, made a statement in answer to Mr. Lewis's speech, declaring that Mr. Lewis and his organization were attempting to thwart the unionization of steel workers by causing a rift in the

ranks of the A.F. of L. The C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization), he said, had achieved nothing since its inception last November, "except division, discord, and confusion in the ranks of organized labor."

Mr. Lewis replied that the executive council of the A.F. of L. had no plan to organize the steel industry, and that the instructions of the last two conventions to start such organization had never been carried out. He also said that it was not yet too late for the A.F. of L. members to join with the C.I.O. in its present campaign to unionize the steel industry.

"If the A.F. of L. council chooses to join with the corporations composing the American Iron & Steel Institute, in fighting the C.I.O. now engaged in this major effort," said Mr. Lewis, "the shame of such a dishonorable action will lie on the heads of Mr. Green and his irreconcilable associates."

On July 8, Mr. Lewis refused to appear before the executive council of the A.F. of L. where he had been summoned to show cause why the industrial unions that are following his leadership should not be suspended or expelled. For the moment such action appeared to create a breach between the two factions which could not be repaired. Moderate labor leaders, however, realizing the calamity such a breach implied, hastened to throw their influence on the side of reconciliation. They were assisted by a spokesman of the Roosevelt Administration, but were equally apprehensive of the political consequences. While the storm still rages, it looks as though a way might be found to prevent an open and irreparable break between the A.F. of L. and the industrial union movement.

Among the more important unions threatened with suspension next November unless they abandon the C.I.O.

are: the United Mine Workers, with a membership of 540,000 (Mr. Green himself belongs); the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, with a membership of 225,000; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with a membership of 155,000; the International Typographical Union; the Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union; the Oil Field, Gas and Refinery Workers; the United Textile Workers of America; and the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers union.

Thus we come to a three-way struggle which, however it turns out, is bound to create more or less discontent in the ranks of labor, as well as in the field of industry. The controversy between those favoring trade unionism on a craft basis and those who prefer to see it on an industrial union basis has probably reached a point where it cannot be settled without a show-down. It is unfortunate, of course, that this show-down should come at a time when the energy and resources of



MEN OF IRON

—NEA Service

the entire nation need mobilization for recovery. That, however, appears to be the usual American approach. As a people, we seem unable, or unwilling, to meet perfectly obvious issues until forced to do so by some emergency.

That Third Party

William Lemke, one of the stormiest petrels in Midwestern politics, caught both Republicans and Democrats off guard by tossing his hat in the ring as a Presidential candidate at the eleventh hour. Leaders of both parties were aware of various dissenting or diverting movements, but there seemed to be too many and too great a variety for anything like cohesive organization. It is possible, of course, that such a condition still exists, and that Mr. Lemke's entrance will prove just one more abortion in the field of politics. It is difficult to see how he can hope to gain anything of permanent value for himself or for his associates, but with the avowed backing of Father Coughlin, and the possible backing of the Townsendites, as well as of the late Huey Long's Share-The-Wealth movement, he might easily divert enough votes to determine the national election.

Assuming that most of the votes going to Mr. Lemke will be at the expense of President Roosevelt, Republicans are inclined to regard his advent as a Presidential candidate in the light of a Heaven-sent blessing. Democrats, on the other hand, are obviously worried in spite of their efforts to belittle its effect. No one expects it to carry more than one or two States, if any, but everyone is trying to guess how many votes it will attract—particularly in doubtful States. It is essentially the old agrarian movement over again; the Greenbacker, the Populist, the non-partisan leader reasserting themselves. It is for inflation, or fiat money; for

the mobilization of public credit on a grand and risky scale; for economic adventures which make the New Deal seem colorless and insipid. But seventy years of campaigning on such issues have built up a considerable following throughout the Midwest which, coupled with the support it may derive from other and newer appeals, is something to reckon with, particularly in sections where the line-up between the two old parties is fairly even.

Toward Recovery

No matter how more or less extraneous issues are dragged in, the real debate in connection with this campaign will be on the question of recovery. How much of a gain have we made, and to what can it be attributed? Administration spokesmen, of course, will argue that we have made great gains and that the New Deal should be blessed with a large share of the credit. Republicans will argue that recovery began when certain phases of the New Deal—particularly NRA and AAA—were outlawed by the Supreme Court.

Secretary Roper estimates that the national income will reach sixty billion dollars this year, which would represent an increase of twenty billion dollars, or 50 per cent, over 1932. His estimate is based on tables and methods of computation which the Department of Commerce have employed for several years. There is no reason to suppose that he is far wrong. The steady improvement of retail trade, farm prices, employment, payrolls, dividends, and production all indicate that we have made substantial progress in getting out of the depression. It is rather ridiculous to assume that this could have been done without the co-operation and support of millions of people, and that any one factor should be glorified as exclusively responsible. As a matter of common sense, all

classes, even those which seem to oppose specific plans and programs, have contributed something of value. Business men who accept governmental advice or regulation against their judgment and who did the best they could under conditions which they did not approve; laborers who continued to

work for wages which they regarded as unjustly low; courts that disapproved measures in such a way as seemed to place them in opposition to recovery—all these and many more have helped, not only to clarify, but to better, a difficult situation.

It is not true that the New Deal was



KEEP HIM ON THE JUMP

—Christian Science Monitor

wholly injurious, or that the invalidation of some of its more important phases was wholly beneficial. It is not true that we made little or no progress until May 1935. It is not true that either the Administration at Washington or the Supreme Court did, or could have lifted this country out of the quagmire by themselves. It is not true that every experiment was unsound, or that drastic measures were unnecessary, even though they had to be abandoned.

The very fact that we have continued to recover both when the New Deal was fully in force and after much of it had been scrapped leaves no doubt that there has been a genuine mobilization of constructive forces throughout this country, or that the vast majority of people have helped in that mobilization. We can, of course, differ as to specific policies, but not to such an extent as implies the inability of the American people to act sensibly by themselves. We cannot glorify this or that program to such an extent that implies general helplessness. The average citizen is well aware of this and gives scant attention to political extremists whose arguments and assertions insinuate that he and all his neighbors are unable or unwilling to help themselves.

Cost of the New Deal

The Federal debt has increased approximately \$13,000,000,000 since President Roosevelt took office. Many people are inclined to accept this as indicating the cost of the New Deal. Meanwhile, cash in the Federal Treasury has increased \$2,200,000,000 since President Roosevelt took office. Treasury spokesmen feel that this should be

deducted, leaving the net increase of Federal debt, or New Deal cost, at \$10,800,000,000.



The way some Republicans figure it:

Net increase of Federal debt—
\$10,800,000,000.
Add for bonds guaranteed by
Government—\$4,700,000,000.
Cost of New Deal—\$15,500,000,-
000.

How some New Dealers figure it:

Net increase of Federal debt—
\$10,800,000,000.
Subtract profit through devaluation
of dollar—\$2,000,000,000.
Subtract loans to be repaid—\$2,-
000,000,000.
Cost of New Deal—\$6,800,000,-
000.

All of which leaves out some very important items. To begin with, the New Deal is still an unfinished job, and the books cannot be closed or even balanced at this time. Certain phases of it, such as relief, whether direct or indirect, aid to farmers, and credit for business must go on. Added to this, many cities, towns and States have been induced to borrow and spend in order to get their proportionate share of New Deal benefits. Some of them are committed to projects barely begun at this time.

In the final analysis, however, the question is not what the New Deal has, or will, cost but whether we are getting our money's worth. Was it necessary to spend such vast sums and have they been spent in the most efficient way? The average citizen is vitally interested in these two questions, particularly with regard to relief.



CHOPPING BLOCK

Executioner, to his victim:—"You needn't worry, you'll soon be out of pain, but as for me, I'll never bear the end of this."

—*Evening Times, Glasgow*

ABROAD:

LIGUE OF NATIONS sanctions imposed against Italy nine months ago were ended on July 15. This was the formal and expected confirmation of the abandonment of Ethiopia to her fate. It was also a warning to all other small nations that their security stands only insofar as it happens to coincide with the interests of the Great Powers. Above all, the end of sanctions amounts to the candid admission that the League of Nations, in its present composition and in the spirit by which it has been actuated, is helpless against international gangsterism.

That is the measure of the failure of the League—or rather of its members. The extent of its success is that, for the first time in human history, a defeated sovereign, bereft of his kingdom by conquest, was able to stand

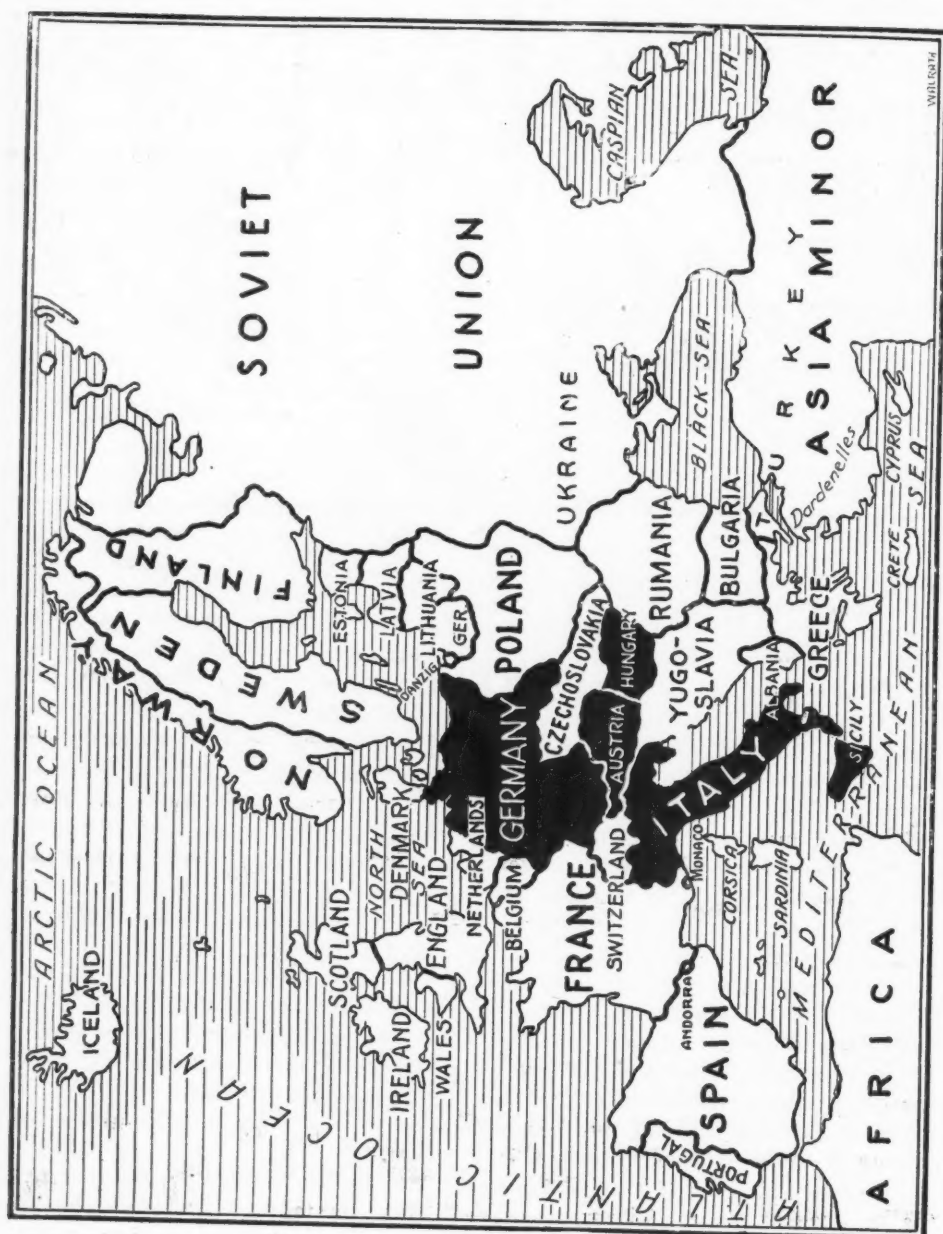
before an organized body, representing the nations of the world, and state his case. Thwarted at every turn, Haile Selassie had but one chance to speak. But he asked the squirming delegates the question that hurt: "What measures do you intend to take? What reply have I to take back to my people?"

He spoke, not only for Ethiopia, but for all the small nations and all who hope for peace. He received no direct answer, nor was one necessary; silence, in this case, was eloquent.

♦ ♦ ♦

Gagging an Emperor

There is talk of "reforming" the League and turning it into what M. Litvinov describes as a combination of debating society and charitable institution. The Emperor of Ethiopia will



LINING UP IN CENTRAL EUROPE: the areas in black show potential alliances.

be able to tell the sponsors of this plan what the League will amount to as a forum of discussion.

Judged by the principles to which League members claim to subscribe, only one nation had a clearly justified case; only one statesman of all those connected with the Italo-Ethiopian situation emerged with an enhanced reputation, free from accusations of hypocrisy, equivocation, and cowardice. The nation was Ethiopia, the statesman, Haile Selassie.

Nevertheless, every attempt was made to prevent the latter from laying his case before the Geneva Assembly. Shortly before Anthony Eden told the British House of Commons that there was no longer a native government in Ethiopia, messages from the temporary administration left there were addressed to the Emperor, care of the British Foreign Office. Entrusted to the English monopoly, Cable and Wireless, Inc., they were routed by Italian Eritrea instead of Khartoum. Obviously, their embarrassing arrival was prevented.

In Geneva, attempts were made in the Committee of Credentials and the Steering Committee to deny the Emperor his right to speak, but they were spiked by Yugoslavia, Great Britain, and France. Then the Radio Broadcasting Company of Geneva stated that it would be unable to broadcast the Emperor's address unless he signed an agreement to say nothing inimical to any nation. When the Emperor did speak, it was only to be jeered at by Italian Fascist hoodlums in the press gallery. Finally, the Steering Committee transgressed the rules of procedure and shelved the Ethiopian resolutions calling for votes on the principle of transferring territory by force, and on a loan for the purpose of further resisting Italy.

In strong contrast were the popular

receptions accorded to Haile Selassie on his arrival in London and Geneva. They emphasized his moral victory; he was right when he told the League members that "God and history will remember your judgment." But that will not help Ethiopia today.

Whose Blame?

All attempts collectively to apply sanctions are necessarily difficult. With that qualification, however, the Italo-Ethiopian test case for the League was virtually a set-up. Italy was known to be in financial straits; climate and conditions of warfare materially aided the sanctionists. It seemed that the League would gain a new lease on life through curbing Italy and then attacking the problem of the distribution of the world's resources—the policy laid down by Sir Samuel Hoare in September.

For the fiasco which followed, all nations are in a measure responsible; and insofar as their responsibility was greatest, France, and especially Great Britain, are primarily blameworthy.

It is apparent that conservative elements in the British Cabinet never sincerely believed in the principle of collective security and have effectively frustrated the efforts of those colleagues who attempted to carry out a League policy. But the British National Government is open to a graver charge than that of blundering. It has not only failed to execute a specific popular mandate, but, in effect if not in motive, it has taken a policy clearly laid down by the most pacific people in Europe and discredited it by half-hearted application. In other words, the National Government has led the way in creating circumstances in which the nationalism, imperialism, and rearmament near its heart fit the logic of the situation. For this reason, the storm of protest in England, led by Lloyd George, the Labor Party, and

Viscount Cecil is far less effective than it might have been otherwise.

Britain's Woes

If there is a recording angel appointed to keep tab on the conduct of the world's statesmen and diplomats, he will mark down Haile Selassie for a reward in heaven; for it is certain that the Lion of Judah will not receive his due on this earth. And if there is such an angel, he has apparently decreed that the British Cabinet's sins of omission and commission shall be visited upon it here and now. Elected on a platform of a bigger and better Empire, the National Government's failure to curb Japan in Manchuria and Italy in Ethiopia has brought direct

retribution in the form of a grim series of Imperial woes.

Dominions Disagree

In 1914, the British Dominions answered the first call to arms. Since then, they have gained their independence and achieved a national status which was sealed by the Act of Westminster in 1931. The League Covenant has taken the place of British dominance as the obligation calling for common action.

In July, the Covenant was repudiated. With the exception of South Africa (whose attitude was determined by a domestic racial problem), the British nations declared themselves in favor of lifting sanctions. How-



COMING EVENTS

—Daily Express, London

ever, it is evident that, like South Africa, their decisions were determined essentially by sectional considerations. Even if the Covenant is revived, Great Britain favors only regional military sanctions; which, obviously, would not obligate the Dominions.

The British Government would like to gain assurance of dominion support through an Imperial defensive and offensive alliance, and the Imperial Defense Committee has met. But it is certain that the Dominions will not bind themselves unconditionally to go to war with Great Britain; for example, the Premier of South Africa has stated that anyone still holding to such an idea should go back to the nursery.

Consequently, as Great Britain casts about for allies, she will have to rely on mere traditional association as assurance of Dominion support.

Imperial Lifelines Snarled

Great Britain's short route to the Indian Ocean and the Far East, via the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, has always been a vital Imperial link. Since Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, it has been severely threatened. Egypt and the Sudan are squeezed between Italian forces; and the discomfiting fact has just been discovered that, a year ago, France ceded to Italy Doumeirah Island overlooking the southern entrance to the Red Sea and now in the process of fortification. Troubles in Palestine, aggravated by the Italians, have been further accentuated by the new French Government's consideration of abandoning the Syrian mandate; and Palestine is not only the outlet for Iraq's oil, but a focal point for Imperial air communications. Worst of all has been the revelation that the airplane has outmoded British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean.

Consequently, England has been

forced to turn to the longer route to the East—that via the Cape of Good Hope. Negotiations were undertaken with South Africa to permit construction of a naval base at Cape Town. That Dominion, however, was intent upon driving a hard bargain. The conditions she laid down were reported to be that: South Africa should not be obliged to participate in any British war; England should bear the cost of the base; the British native protectorates, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, should be handed over to the Union; and the Union should be allowed to share any Portuguese colonies that "fell on the market." The last-mentioned, it is reported, would be shared with Germany, whose agents are attempting to undermine the Salazar regime in Portugal.

If Great Britain is intent upon regaining her prestige as "an imperial and an oceanic" power—to use Sir Samuel Hoare's words—it is equally evident that the expansive ambitions of Oom Paul have been resurrected in the Union of South Africa.

Europe Dividing

June and July saw the unmistakable progress of attempts to weld the traditional "iron ring" around Germany. Even more marked were Hitler's efforts to break through the eastern links of this chain of actual or prospective alliances.

There are two schools of thought in Germany regarding the *Drang nach Osten*. One favors northeasterly extension of Nazi influence by way of Poland; the other prefers the idea of penetration to the southeast by way of Austria, the Little Entente, and through to the Ukraine.

Both concepts have been pursued so effectively that, in July, they provoked serious reactions: in the north, the League dispute over Danzig, and in

the south, a proposed Italo-Russian alliance to checkmate German designs. The Nazis must decide in which direction they would next try their strength, but meanwhile, in their efforts to break through the encircling alliances, they

have strengthened the determination of the *status quo* forces.

Danzig and Poland

Germany presented the League with another test when the Nazis in the Free



DANZIG IN THE DARK

—United Feature Syndicate



AT THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE

"There is still that Englishman in the ante-room waiting for a reply to the questionnaire."
 "Um . . . er . . . so . . . give him something to read."

—Il Travaso, Rome

City of Danzig defied the League administration and appeared on the way to a *putsch* after conducting a reign of terrorism.

Although the League held firm against Herr Greiser's vehement attacks and gratuitous insults, the success or failure of Nazi ambitions in Danzig depend upon circumstances nearer the battleground itself.

While the elections of 1933 gave the Nazis control of the Volkstag and Senate, there has arisen a strong anti-Nazi "People's front", which claims a majority of the almost exclusively German population of the city, and which is prepared to rely upon its own strength as much as upon what support it might receive from the League.

The second factor which is causing the Nazis to think twice before they embark upon any precipitate steps is the attitude of Poland, a country which Herr Hitler sincerely desires as an ally. At present, Poland hangs in an uneasy balance between the German and the Franco-Soviet camps. Internal politics are divided between the Generals and the Colonels. The former, supported by the industrial groups are pro-French, anti-Nazi, and democratic; but the Colonels, backed by the large landowners, are fascist in outlook and pro-Nazi. Today, the Generals hold the reins and the Prime Minister is their representative, although Colonel Beck holds the foreign portfolio.

The latter has favored Nazi Germany and has been cool towards the League. Yet the Polish balance of power is such that a Nazi coup in Danzig—especially since that port commands its Polish rival, Gdynia—might well have the direct result of driving Poland into the anti-German alliance. That is an eventuality which makes the Nazis hesitate.

Bad Debts in the Balkans

There is a Machiavellian ingenuity about German economic penetration throughout Central Europe and the Balkans, to further which Dr. Schacht went on tour in mid-June. Briefly, German importers place large orders for the raw materials upon the export of which these countries depend; the goods are delivered and then the importers find, to their regret, that exchange restrictions prevent payment in cash. There is nothing to be done about it save that the exporter should accept German commodities, preferably arms, in return.

The fruits of this policy are that Germany has supplanted France, especially, and Italy as the dominant economic power in southeastern Europe. For instance, she now accounts for 48% of Bulgaria's exports and 54% of her imports; she has increased her purchases of Rumanian oil sixfold since 1933; the French share of Yugoslav exports has dwindled to almost nothing; and Italian trade with Yugoslavia has been cut off by sanctions—all to the benefit of the Reich, which has also been awarded substantial contracts for the construction of heavy industries in Yugoslavia.

It would be naïve to see no more than economic motives in all this. Nazi political influence has grown correspondingly, and, in its disruptive effect upon the French-inspired Balkan and Little Ententes, threatens to remake

the map of Europe as it has been known since 1919.

Little Entente Weakens

The Little Entente continues to stress its unity, but its faith in France as a guarantor of its security has seriously diminished. Berlin is trying to foster in Rumania a union between the German elements, which are predominantly Nazi, and the Right Wing, which has been materially strengthened by the merging of the Agrarians into the Christian-National Party. The Nazis and the Rumanian Right find a common basis in the anti-Semitism which is rabid in Rumania. Berlin's influence is powerful; the leader of the National-Peasant Party has claimed that 60 Bucharest newspapers are subsidized. Should these two groups be united on a Nazi platform, the present even balance in the Government between the pro-French group (led by Foreign Minister Titulescu) and the pro-Germans (Right-Radicals), would undoubtedly swing in favor of Germany.

But if the possibility of a Nazi Rumania, surrounding Czechoslovakia and opening the way to the Ukraine, gives the French camp gray hairs, Yugoslavia is equally a source of worry. Hitherto, that nation has leaned on the Little Entente and an alliance with Turkey. Both these props imply relations with Moscow. But the Soviets have not yet been officially recognized; French prestige has fallen since the Ethiopian war; German trade has increased; and Yugoslavs are beginning to wonder whether the Reich would not be a better protector against Italy than the French alliance.

Checkmate in Austria

While the Nazi drive to the southeast seemed to be running on schedule,

at least in Yugoslavia and Rumania, it encountered a sudden stumbling block in Austria.

Rumors of every kind were accentuated by Chancellor Schuschnigg's silence regarding his intentions. His interest in the Hapsburgs was well known; yet it was obvious, in view of the warnings issued by the Little Entente, that restoration of the monarchy would throw central Europe into chaos. It seemed entirely logical that the Nazis should secretly favor Otto, in that the results of his return would play directly into their hands. On the other hand, lengthy conferences between the Austrian Chancellor and the German Minister, Von Papen, lent to the suspicion that a deal would be made with Germany, to whom some observers virtually conceded Austria.

If those who suspected a German deal were right, its eventual nature was unexpected: Schuschnigg, backed by Mussolini, openly defied Hitler, and held out for German recognition of Austrian independence and non-interference in her internal affairs. What is more, he won his point.

There are two annexes to the treaty: one is that Austria should maintain an army sufficient to guard its independence—a provision aimed against the Little Entente; the other is the assurance that restoration is not a "topical problem."

Fascist Bloc vs. Stresa Front

There were two reasons for Hitler's unexpected mood of sweet reasonableness over Austria: A fear that his designs on southeastern Europe would provoke an Italo-Russian alliance, and hope that he might join Germany and Austria to Italy and Hungary in a bloc which would divide France and Russia.

There remains the fact that the basis of the Austro-German treaty is the

recognition that both are Germanic nations. Some observers see in it a peacefully achieved *anschluss*. That feature will not be to Mussolini's liking, and, again, Germany and Italy are rivals in Yugoslavia. The Russians, on their part, have reason to fear for the independence of Czechoslovakia, with which they have a treaty of mutual assistance. Nor is there any indication that Hitler has abandoned his ambitions towards the Ukraine.

Italy and Russia consequently have a substantial common interest in opposing Germany in the southeast. Nevertheless, the threat of a fascist bloc has given Mussolini a trump card in negotiations for the revival of the Stresa front. Great Britain has already postponed discussions of the "reform" of the League until autumn, by which time Italy will have had time to consolidate her position in Ethiopia. Under the circumstances, England might find it difficult to refuse an Italian request for a loan for that purpose. All told, this much is certain: *il Duce* is in a position to exact a handsome price for any assistance he might be persuaded to lend against Germany.

Russia Goes Liberal

While M. Blum was trying to discover whether he would go down in history as the French Kerensky, the French Giollitti, or the man who took France from the clutches of the "200 families" and gave it to the people, the Soviet Government, generally branded as one of the ranking tyrannies, took a long step towards its avowed objective of a democratic socialist state.

The highlight of the new constitution is the provision for a House of Representatives, to be elected by a secret ballot, the franchise extending to all citizens, male and female, over 18 years of age. A second chamber, the House of Nationalities, is to be



FELLOW SUFFERERS

Negus: "Times are bad for the colored races, Mr. Louis."

—Il 420, Florence, Italy

chosen by the Provincial Councils. The two Houses jointly are to elect the Council of Commissars, the Presidium (31 members) and the President. Judges are to be popularly elected and, together with police officials, are to be responsible to an Attorney General appointed by the Houses.

Although this projected political organization is similar to the British and the American models, only its operation will reveal the extent to which Russia has been democratized. There will be only one party and no opposition in the American sense; "constructive criticism" is to fulfill that function. Nevertheless, the mere act of voting insures at least a modicum of free speech and free discussion, and the airing which the new proposals have been given in the press and the Communist organizations indicate a genuine desire to propagate these principles.

It is apparent that the Soviets, con-

fident in the belief that the national house is securely in order, feel that the time has come to loosen the restrictions on political liberty. And the announcement of the new constitution was nicely timed to woo the friendship of the democratic powers.

Far East

Just as there might have been a different story to tell about the British Empire had England been faced by a united Europe, so Japan has followed the principle of "divide and rule" with respect to China. That much considered, the degree of national unity which Chiang Kai-Shek has been able to maintain has been remarkable—the more so in that it has been maintained by military force, rather than by economic reconstruction.

The Canton Government, however, has always been nominally, rather than actually, subservient to the Central Nanking Government, and the uprising of the South was not, as Chiang Kai-Shek preferred to believe, a "rebellion", but a civil strife between rival war lords. Although ostensibly directed against Japan, the bid for power made by Kwangsi and Kwantung was so patently to Tokyo's interest that Nanking charged it was fomented by Japan as a pretext for further "intervention." The Japanese military attaché at Shanghai admitted that the Kwangsi forces had had Nipponese advisers, and his counterpart in Nanking tactlessly stated that "Japan, of course, sells munitions to whomever will pay for them." The further accusation that Kwangsi had been loaned \$1,500,000 was not confirmed.

More than 1,000,000 troops faced each other through the provinces lying to the north of Kwangsi and Kwantung—Fukien, Kiangsi, Hunan, and Kweichow—while Chiang Kai-Shek

stalled in order to repair the railway line from Nanking to the scene of hostilities. As the plenary session of the Kuomintang drew near, however, Kwantung called off hostilities, serious defections were reported in the Kwangsi ranks, and the threat of civil war seemed to have subsided, leaving Chiang Kai-Shek in the saddle.

Question Marks

For the time being, Chiang Kai-Shek and his policy of passive resistance to Japan had won an unexpectedly easy victory. But the future asks several leading questions.

There is a rising flood of anti-Japanese sentiment in China. As Japan has defined herself as the "bulwark" against communism, will she prove to be that religion's best friend by forcing Chinese Nationalist sentiment to align itself with the Reds as Japan's only determined opponents? Again, Chiang Kai-Shek's semi-fascist government must suppress this antagonistic movement by force. Where is he going to obtain the money to sustain his government while the important revenues from the North China customs are cut off? Is the explanation to be found in a Sino-Japanese anti-communist pact, reported in the *Hongkong Telegraph*? Or is the Nanking Government banking on the supposition that the Japanese cannot afford further peaceful penetration and realize that forceful invasion would throw China into a chaos of desperate resistance which would make it valueless as a region to be exploited commercially? Finally, the United States has invested in China some \$250,000,000, and England, more than \$1,000,000,000. The Nanking Government represents, not only the Chinese army, business men, bankers, and the ruling agrarian class, but also the foreign interests. In fact, a writer in the *New Statesman* and

Nation makes the assertion that, "If the Chinese Red Armies had received as much material help as the Kuomintang has from Europe and America, the hammer and sickle would now be floating over China." The fall of the Nanking Government is against the interests of England and the States. What part are they playing or what action do they propose to take?

Pan America

Pan American nations continue to cool off in their enthusiasm for the League, either from motives of indifference or disgust.

Following the examples of Brazil, Guatemala, Paraguay, and Costa Rica, Nicaragua resigned. Mexico withdrew its representative on the steering committee, as a token of disapproval of the way in which that body was trying to sidetrack embarrassing Ethi-



CHINESE

"Good morning, General, what do you wish?"

"Bring me my diary. I have forgotten whom I intended to declare war against today."

—Il 420, Florence, Italy

opian resolutions. Chile threatened to retire from Geneva unless the League was so reformed as to make the imposition of sanctions voluntary. (It looks as though her conditions of continued membership will be realized, but membership in that kind of League would not make much difference anyway.) Argentina came forth with a flourish, demanding that the League observe the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition in the Italo-Ethiopian case, and the Argentine delegate made a lofty but vague speech. This piece of pacific bravado was somewhat marred by the fact that Argentina did not exercise her right to second, and force to a vote, the proposed Ethiopian resolution concerning non-recognition.

During this time, the projected American "League of Nations", up for discussion at the still-forthcoming Buenos Aires conference, was making little more progress than its Genevan inspiration. Washington has declared that there will be on the agenda only those subjects which it is unanimously agreed should be discussed. As Chile has turned her thumbs down on the American "League of Nations" item, it appears that Pan American nations which do not like Geneva will have no alternative to which they may turn.

SCIENCE

"ALLERGY" is a comparatively new name to the medical world, embracing a multitude of minor irritations—the result of man's sensitiveness to specific fruits, fish, flowers, weeds, dirt, and vegetables. Of all so-called allergic diseases, the most dramatic is "hay fever", an ailment which is not induced by hay, nor is it a fever. Approximately 4,000,000 Americans are afflicted by one or more pollens blown about by the wind from the mid-



OTTO TO THE RESCUE

Mussolini: "Listen to me, John Bull, or I will throw Otto at you."

—Mucha, Warsaw

dle of March to the end of October. Periodically a "cure" is announced capable of alleviating or completely eliminating the sniffing affliction.

Recently another "cure" was proclaimed from St. George's Hospital, London, where doctors have succeeded in electrically implanting a therapeutic drug into the nasal tissues. By applying gauze soaked in zinc salt solution to the irritated membrane and using a slight electric current, minute particles of ionized zinc are injected into the nasal tissue. Combatting hay fever in this manner the doctors exploit a technique evolved early in the century by Dr. Stephane Leduc, French physician. The method is sound, but the explanation of how and why these ionized zinc particles check and, in some instances, seemingly eliminate hay fever stops far short of being accepted without challenge. The St. George experimenters state that the metal injected into the nasal tissues precipitates proteins

which action directly results in desensitizing the afflicted body to all pollens.

Dr. Walter Walzer of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital dissents with equal assurance, claiming that far from inducing a curative action the ionized zinc cauterizes and deadens the tissues, and in some cases, after continued use, causes complications, such as inflammation of the sinus. Experimental authority supports both the English and American theories. For more than ten years, Americans have experimented with this type of therapeutic treatment. As recently as February 1936, Drs. Samuel Garfin and Samuel Pearl of the Boston City Hospital reported that they had effected extraordinary cures in cases where hay fever was complicated with rhinitis and asthma.

The most generally used treatment for hay fever is pollenosis therapy. After testing the skin to determine which pollen irritates the sufferer, immunization is effected through a series of injections of the specific pollen. Although this cure is reliable in many cases, neither doctors nor patients will admit its general efficacy.

Other remedies for so-called allergic conditions are being brought to the attention of the public. Included with lobsters, strawberries, and eggs, cow's milk is a prime offender against the digestive organs of certain sensitive individuals. Babies, in particular, are unable to digest it without dilution or other modifications. Business men have exploited this idiosyncrasy so extensively that hundreds of prepared baby milks are now offered for sale. Enthusiastic advertising men proclaim that some of the concoctions are so palatable that a discriminating infant prefers them to mother's milk. Doctors are not so sanguine about eliminating mother from the formula for the care and feeding of infants.

Doctor I. Newton Kugelmass states: "There is no substitute for breast milk, and there can be no single formula for the universal feeding of infants." Despite this statement, however, the doctor endorses cow's milk if it is specifically adapted to the individual baby. He favors "adapting the formula to the infant and not the infant to the formula."

Following this not-altogether-new line of experiment, Dr. Kugelmass has discovered that each baby poses a specific problem, the solution of which hinges on determining the physiological conditions of digestion. Further, the Doctor has discovered that simple physical proportions are enough to indicate what milk modifications are necessary. For all purposes, including dietary, babies are categorized as "linear" or long-bodied, "medial" or evenly proportioned, and "lateral", or broad-bodied. After studying 500 infants, Doctor Kugelmass learned that the linears produced more gastric juice than the laterals and, as a result, were subject to fewer digestive disorders. As a rule, laterals require one-to-one dilution of cow's milk, medials a two-to-one dilution, while linears require three-to-one dilution, with 10 percent carbohydrate and vitamins D and C included in all concentrates.

Coupled with the requirements of different body-builds, allowances must be made for predisposition to disease. And on examination it would seem that only rare babies are normal in this respect. Of the 500 infants that Doctor Kugelmass studied, 65 percent were allergic (unable to take certain foods without an accompanying illness), 30 percent were neuropathic, and 5 percent lymphatic (pale and listless) and hydrolabile (variable in body fluids). But, despite these formidably named conditions, mothers are assured that it is as easy to ferret

them out as it is to determine a baby's build. To restore normalcy, the allergies are fed evaporated, vegetable, or goat's milk, the neuropathics thick-feeding, acid-feeding, or evaporated milk, and the hydrolabiles acid or evaporated milk.

W. O. Frohring of Shaker Heights, Ohio, also has a solution for the allergies who cannot normally digest milk. He operates on the theory that casein, albumin, globulin and other milk proteins are the chief offenders. Since heat changes protein, Frohring heats pasteurized milk in air-tight containers for two hours at approximately 240 degrees F. Apparently the chemical change in the proteins under heat makes the treated milk acceptable to allergic babies. With the addition of a little sugar and lactic acid, the milk thus prepared will not curdle.



Dr. Robert James of the Westinghouse research laboratories has devised an ultra-violet ray lamp which kills micro-organisms (molds, spores, and bacteria), the chief cause of meat, cake, and bread spoilage. To meet the requirements of butcher and baker, Doctor James has developed half a dozen different lamps which destroy the germs without destroying the product.

Special lamps placed in a meat storage chamber radiate ultra-violet rays that check the development of spores and bacteria. Ordinarily beef must age in a temperature of 35 degrees from six to eight weeks before it is fit to sell. Employing the ray equipment, Doctor James raises the storage temperature to 65 degrees and reduces aging time to four or five days. Packing companies should have little difficulty in visualizing the profit accruing from this treatment of beef. An added advantage is the increase of moisture in the air which prevents meat from losing upward of 35 per cent of its weight by evaporation. Doctor James claims that eight lamps, operated at a minimum cost, will protect 1,400 pounds of meat from micro-organisms, while higher temperature speeds up the aging process.

For the baker's problems, Doctor James also has a solution. Although some mold spores survive high oven temperatures, the greatest contamination occurs when bread or cake is taken out of the oven to cool. By equipping a wrapping machine with an ultra-violet lamp and allowing both cake and wrapper a five-second exposure to the irradiation, Doctor James has been able to increase the mold-free life of the product about thirty-six hours.



AUTHORS in this ISSUE:

Dorothy Waring (*An Interview with Otto*) began life in Montgomery, Alabama; the year, she states frankly, was 1900. The Horace Mann School, next the Columbia School of Journalism, began her education. Short stories occupied her for several years after that. Soon, she became editor for the Macaulay Company, book publishers, and while with them "ghosted" two novels and suffered all the woes of humanity as contributor of a "problem" column for a magazine. She hunted information for the Congressional Committee Investigating un-American Activities; took a position with the British General Press as political correspondent; and finally produced the book *American Defender*, which was published last year. *Hitlerism, The Iron Fist in Germany*, by "Nordicus", was her publishing venture; the book received good notices, but in 1932 Hitler seemed unimportant. The work was thought to be making a mountain out of a molehill—an opinion which has since undergone certain revisions.

Wallace S. Sayre (*Major Party Platforms of 1936*) made his debut in the June CURRENT HISTORY with *Political Groundswell*.

Frank C. Hanighen (*The Latest French Revolution*) wrote *Propaganda on the Air*, which appeared in our June issue.

David Goldberg (*The Holy Land Looks West*) is listed in the Who's Who of American Jewry as a rabbi and journalist, although he recently gave up the former. He was born in White Russia and received part of his education in the Imperial School for Survey in that country. Emigrating to the United States, he continued his secular studies at the Polytechnic of Fort Worth, Texas; the Texas Christian University, and the University of Chicago. During the World War he was commissioned as the first and only chaplain of the Jewish faith in the United States Navy, and he is a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve today. As a journalist, Dr. Goldberg was formerly editor of the *Texas Jewish Herald*, and now writes for the *Boston Globe*. He is author of *The Debacle of Religion in Russia*, and of *Sussman Sees It Through*, the latter having won the plaudits of the press as a cool, impartial survey and philosophic study of the Jew in Soviet Russia today.

H. R. Ekins (*Chinese Puzzle*) appeared in the May and June issues of CURRENT HISTORY.

Lord Strabolgi (*Battleship's Doom*) was the Right Honorable Commander J. M. Kenworthy, M.P., ex-officer in the British Navy, before he succeeded to his father's title. He has written a great deal on naval subjects, including a book,

The Real Navy, which was published in London in 1932. He has contributed in this country to *Asia* and other publications.

J. H. Landman (*Sterilization*) is an internationally known expert on this subject. His book, *Human Sterilization* (Macmillan Co.), is recognized as the leading treatise of its kind, while his work generally in the field of eugenics and sterilization has won him a fellowship in the Association for the Advancement of Science.

W. Walter Crotch (*Will Austria Go Democratic?*) writes from Paris, where he is editor-in-chief of the International Press Bureau. An English author and journalist of long standing he contributes to the British reviews—such, for instance, as the *Quarterly*, *The Nineteenth Century*, *The Contemporary*, *The Fortnightly*, *The National* and the *English Review*. He is recognized as an authority in the broad field of international politics, but Central Europe has been his particular study.

Krishnalal Shridharani (*Tagore*) is the author of six books in Gujarati, one of the principal languages of India. Born in Bhavnagar, in 1911, he was a student at Mahatma Gandhi's university at Ahmedabad, and was one of Gandhi's companions on the famous march to the sea in 1930. Mr. Shridharani subsequently completed his college work at Tagore's international university, and, coming here, received an A.M. and M.S., the latter from the Columbia School of Journalism.

Duncan Aikman (*Tugwelltown*) began a newspaper career on the Pacific Coast. Subsequently, he became Washington correspondent of a Los Angeles paper, and frequent contributor to the *New York Times*.

Albert Handy (*Taxes in the Soviet*) is a former newspaperman, at present lecturing on taxation at New York University. He is author of *Inheritance and Other Like Taxes* (Prentice-Hall) and *New York Estate Tax* (Matthew Bender & Co.), in addition to numerous magazine and newspaper articles on the subject.

Johannes Steel (*Leon Blum*) was associated with Germany's Department of Commerce as economic adviser before the advent of Hitlerism. He met Leon Blum before the latter's rise to power, and he speaks of him as one of the most forceful personalities of our day. Mr. Steel was formerly foreign correspondent for the *New York Post*. He is author of *The Second World War*, and has contributed articles to leading American publications.



WHERE ARCHDUKE OTTO WAITS: The chateau at Steenockerzeel.

an interview *with* OTTO

BY DOROTHY WARING


At Steenockerzeel, he waits. In troubled Austria, a few hundred miles away, is the Hapsburg throne. Is it for Otto? Will he take it? When?

TO BARON VON WIESNER, legitimist leader and representative of the Hapsburgs, I explained that we in America were keen for first-hand news of the Royal Family. Vague articles, which spoke of impending moves to restore Otto to the throne or of a surprise *putsch* were no longer satisfying our curiosity about the Restoration. Surely the young Archduke must have some direct message to send us, some graphic picture to paint of the Hapsburgs' plans. Hopefully I had come to His Excellency to procure an audience for me.

"His Majesty has not received a journalist in five years," von Wiesner told me, "but I will see what can be done."

During the days of waiting in Vienna, I endeavored to get a clear idea of the sympathies of the Austrian people. After speaking with every conceivable type, I learned of the unqualified support of the Monarchists. The remaining thirty percent of political prestige is divided among Socialists and Nazis. Obviously, Catholic Austria has no room for agnostics.

Patrons of the coffee-houses spoke



Still hopeful:
Archduke Otto,
who sees Aus-
trian throne at
hand.

©Pictures, Inc.

of "His Majesty" with little regard for the treaty of St. Germain which, in 1918, had declared Austria a repub-

lic. To them it is as though President Miklas never existed. Only Prince Starhemberg and his anti-Monarchist *Heimwehr* (whose headquarters were conveniently close to the Italian Ministry of Propaganda) seemed to stand in the way of making their dreams a reality. Vienna is truly the Imperial City. En route to Belgium, Austrian peasants impressed on me their desire to remember the palmy days of their forefathers under the good Franz Joseph.

The Chateau at Steenockerzeel, seat of the exiled Hapsburgs, is hardly an hour's ride from the bustling city of Brussels. Historically, it is centuries removed, its round towers jutting above the stately old elms amidst which it stands, unconquered since the thirteenth century. It presents a picture of medieval dignity and fortitude, a symbol of faith and courage to the family which is marking time upon its ancient floors. A few hundred miles away, in Austria, the door to the Imperial Palace Schönbrunn is ready and waiting to be opened. Otto has the key. But how long will it take him to cover the territory?

I had my invitation procured for me by Baron von Wiesner. In Vienna I had been instructed to appear simply clad. The Empress Zita does not care for flamboyancy or display of any kind. Simplicity is the keynote of the Court. Further instructions ruled that I should never turn my back to His Majesty.

Arriving at the castle it was evident to me that any form of pretension would have struck a cacophonous note upon the harmonious vista which lay before me; it had a fairyland quality. The scene was like an illustration from an Andersen tale—even to the swans which glided phantom-like across the pond beside the Chateau.

Crossing the bridge, I feared any minute to catch the moans of the wicked

King imprisoned in the oubliette below. Surely, some medieval servant would appear to ask my business! Instead, a neatly-groomed valet answered my pull of the bell, then turned me over to a maidservant whom I followed up a winding stair. So far, I had little evidence of the poverty described by the press—which, incidentally, has made the Imperial Court apprehensive of publicity. But impressions of luxury would not do, either; the Court has no desire to impress the public with the idea of monarchist extravagance.

Baron Mirbach, Otto's Aide-in-Command, received me appraisingly. He reiterated the instructions von Wiesner had given me. On the stroke of three I was presented to "His Majesty, the Emperor and King Otto." His mother, the Empress Zita, was not there—in the flesh.

A tall, youthful figure rose to greet me. A cordial smile bade me welcome. Otto extended an aristocratic hand. A firm grasp assured me that I might be at ease. Still, I knew and must remember to address him as "Your Majesty", or, if we spoke German, to use "Euer", the most formal mode of speech. Should I speak of his brothers or sisters, they must be as "Imperial Highness." To my great relief, "His Majesty" addressed me in perfect English, one of the dozen languages he speaks fluently.

Sitting opposite the attractive young "Emperor and King" in the room where many other rulers had sat, I became a wilful victim of his magnetism. Rarely have I heard a man of his years speak with such erudition and fluency. Diverse as his interests are, their main stem is politics. When our conversation turned from conventional small talk into political channels, his full cheeks flushed with eagerness.

"Tell me more of President Roosevelt and Father Coughlin," said Otto, after a discussion of American affairs.

Steenockerzeel June 10th 1936.

Dear Mrs. Waring,

His Majesty the Emperor and King Otto most graciously has ordered me to make you know, that He will be pleased to receive you here Friday June 12th at three o'clock p.m. I would be much obliged if you kindly would acknowledge the receipt of this letter as soon as possible by telephone (Brussels 15 - 35 - 00)

By order of His Majesty
the Emperor and King Otto:

Baron Mirbach

"Royalty" and the journalist: A facsimile of the author's invitation.

As I spoke, I felt he could have enlightened *me*, so well informed was he about our problems.

"Is communism a menace in America, or is it just temporary hysteria?" he wanted to know.

I assured him that the menace of communism is a point of view.

"I am anxious to hear something of the man Huey Long, likewise your Congressman who led the Nazi investigation."

So we chatted about America's late *enfant terrible*, and about Congressman Dickstein.

"Do you Americans realize how we in Europe look upon your country today? Much as the mentor of the world. It is up to you to set the example of right living, consistent economic plans. America is a young country; yet we feel we can learn from her, and I have great faith in youth.

"The Portuguese Government is headed by a man in his early thirties. The Cabinet is composed of young men. They are doing well. Degrelle, the Rexist leader in Belgium, is my age," said Otto warmly.

He repeated this later in our con-

versation as a bolster to his courage, a whistle in the dark. But I was anxious to learn of his plans—untold news. The stacks of papers from all over the world which were neatly piled atop the vast piano obviously had been read thoroughly; I wanted more than a digest of affairs at large.

"What course will Austria take, Your Majesty?"

"There are only two roads which are open: those to Monarchism, or to National Socialism. There is no room in my country for a liberal movement," he answered.

I recalled a disturbance which Otto had created on another occasion when he was purported to have said that when he became Emperor, there would be no room for Socialists in Austria. This statement had considerably embarrassed Chancellor Schuschnigg, who, trying hard to keep the good will of the proletariat as a fortress against Nazi-ism, would have preferred it not to have been broadcast. Otto, however, remained adamant in his conviction that the high road of monarchism ran parallel with Austria's deliverance from instability.

I felt convinced as he talked that this well-groomed, intelligent young Hapsburg might easily be fitted to rule the country to which he is so stalwartly attached.

From my questions regarding the Restoration I gathered that:

Every move at the court is being watched by constituents and oppositionists. The imminence of the Restoration is the favorite topic of conversation in Austria and the Little Entente—and in Italy, too. Mussolini is antipathetic to any move which may restore the Hapsburgs, knowing the Restoration will mean war for Austria. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania stand in fear of an annexation by the Monarchy, equal to Austria's dread of

a German *anschluss*. Italy would rather prevent the Restoration than have the Little Entente fight Il Duce's grievance against Monarchism for her. Hence Mussolini's support of the *Heimwehr*. Other neighboring countries prefer not to discuss the situation. Their spokesmen say the danger of the Restoration is a permanent one, if, indeed, it is not imminent. Austrian legitimists who swarm the land smile cryptically. They know the revolution will come overnight. Though loyal, *pro tem*, to the Government which many of them are serving, they are waiting for the hour to strike.

In Germany, the triumvirate—Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering—look upon any gesture towards Restoration as a midget's protest against a giant's power. Indulgently, Hitler watches the subversive movements of the faction, which, Otto is convinced, is the only way to save Austria from National Socialism. With "His Majesty" on the throne, Germany, like Italy, realizes that she can engineer another war by way of the Balkans. Momentarily, *Der Führer* chooses to encourage Austria's move toward Monarchy. And legitimists who are supporting a portended *coup* continue to pour schillings into Otto's pockets, nor will they stop when he reigns again; the Monarchists have many schillings.

There are those who claim the Restoration will stand symbolically as an impasse to German troops, who, at any day, may be ordered to march as ruthlessly through Austria as, twenty-two years ago they goose-stepped through Belgium. Momentarily, Austria lies tranquil—the bridge to war or peace. But Hitler's seven-league boots can easily step across the bridge into Central Europe.

When I asked His Majesty what store he put in the gossip that *Der Führer* had withdrawn propaganda

from Austria in an effort to redouble it in the Central European states, he smiled and said, "Germany's power could have been suppressed as late as March 27, when Hitler's troops entered the Rhineland—now it is too late. 'But let other states grow by war, happy Austria grows by marriages.'"

He agrees with other European leaders who wisely prescribe England and France becoming bedfellows, distasteful though it may be, as a defense against the net Germany is so skilfully weaving over Europe.

We discussed the rising tide of internal unrest in France and Belgium, and that which is threatening Holland.

"Unfortunately these disturbances are only strengthening German Nationalism," said His Majesty.

Hitler, looking over the ostensible quiet of Germany, points with satisfaction to the labor unrest around him and cries, "For this reason I have rid Germany of Communists." Otto, though loath to agree with any of *Der Führer's* dogmas, admits that "Austria must be kept free of a discontented proletariat and the radical element which makes it so." A

chain is as strong as its weakest link.

For the time during my audience I wished the bars of diplomacy could be dropped. Otto was so anxious to send a message to the outside world. As "His Majesty" he dared not say more than "Yes, I am ready. I have faith enough in my people and in my God to know I will rule Austria." "When?" I asked His Majesty

Baron Mirbach's approach interrupted his answer.

"May I say within a very few months, Your Majesty?"

The reply was muffled by the noise of an approaching motor. But it sounded very much like "October" to me. By then, the Olympic games will be over, tourist trade will be on the wane, and Austria will be ready for excitement.

Walking back through the grounds, Zita's luxurious car drove past me. I stopped for a moment to look after the mother of Austria's future ruler. Though she had sped by quickly, it was not fast enough to keep me from glimpsing a determined, intelligent face, whose eyes, like those of her son, flashed a message.

ANOTHER ANGLE—As a result of Dr. Schacht's visit to Belgrade, a definite agreement was reached about Austria * * * The German Government * * * is actually encouraging the Restorationist efforts of the Hapsburgs * * * The next development * * * is a recrudescence of the earlier Nazi idea of arranging a "plebiscite" in Austria to decide the form of government. It is calculated that there might be * * * a very large pro-Hapsburg vote * * * It is presumed that the Hapsburgs would take the opportunity of such a vote to make a definite move, either in a "constitutional" form, or by a sort of *putsch* based on the "enthusiasm" engendered by the plebiscite. It would be at this point that the Yugoslavs would march in. * * * Then, with Austria in upheaval, and the Yugoslav troops in partial occupation, would come the opportunity for Nazis inside Austria—with the assistance of the Yugoslav military and of the Berlin Government—to bring off their *putsch*.

From *The Week*, London, June 24.

versation as a bolster to his courage, a whistle in the dark. But I was anxious to learn of his plans—untold news. The stacks of papers from all over the world which were neatly piled atop the vast piano obviously had been read thoroughly; I wanted more than a digest of affairs at large.

"What course will Austria take, Your Majesty?"

"There are only two roads which are open: those to Monarchism, or to National Socialism. There is no room in my country for a liberal movement," he answered.

I recalled a disturbance which Otto had created on another occasion when he was purported to have said that when he became Emperor, there would be no room for Socialists in Austria. This statement had considerably embarrassed Chancellor Schuschnigg, who, trying hard to keep the good will of the proletariat as a fortress against Nazi-ism, would have preferred it not to have been broadcast. Otto, however, remained adamant in his conviction that the high road of monarchism ran parallel with Austria's deliverance from instability.

I felt convinced as he talked that this well-groomed, intelligent young Hapsburg might easily be fitted to rule the country to which he is so stalwartly attached.

From my questions regarding the Restoration I gathered that:

Every move at the court is being watched by constituents and oppositionists. The imminence of the Restoration is the favorite topic of conversation in Austria and the Little Entente—and in Italy, too. Mussolini is antipathetic to any move which may restore the Hapsburgs, knowing the Restoration will mean war for Austria. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania stand in fear of an annexation by the Monarchy, equal to Austria's dread of

a German *anschluss*. Italy would rather prevent the Restoration than have the Little Entente fight Il Duce's grievance against Monarchism for her. Hence Mussolini's support of the *Heimwehr*. Other neighboring countries prefer not to discuss the situation. Their spokesmen say the danger of the Restoration is a permanent one, if, indeed, it is not imminent. Austrian legitimists who swarm the land smile cryptically. They know the revolution will come overnight. Though loyal, *pro tem*, to the Government which many of them are serving, they are waiting for the hour to strike.

In Germany, the triumvirate—Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering—look upon any gesture towards Restoration as a midget's protest against a giant's power. Indulgently, Hitler watches the subversive movements of the faction, which, Otto is convinced, is the only way to save Austria from National Socialism. With "His Majesty" on the throne, Germany, like Italy, realizes that she can engineer another war by way of the Balkans. Momentarily, *Der Führer* chooses to encourage Austria's move toward Monarchy. And legitimists who are supporting a portended *coup* continue to pour schillings into Otto's pockets, nor will they stop when he reigns again; the Monarchists have many schillings.

There are those who claim the Restoration will stand symbolically as an impasse to German troops, who, at any day, may be ordered to march as ruthlessly through Austria as, twenty-two years ago they goose-stepped through Belgium. Momentarily, Austria lies tranquil—the bridge to war or peace. But Hitler's seven-league boots can easily step across the bridge into Central Europe.

When I asked His Majesty what store he put in the gossip that *Der Führer* had withdrawn propaganda

from Austria in an effort to redouble it in the Central European states, he smiled and said, "Germany's power could have been suppressed as late as March 27, when Hitler's troops entered the Rhineland—now it is too late. 'But let other states grow by war, happy Austria grows by marriages.'"

He agrees with other European leaders who wisely prescribe England and France becoming bedfellows, distasteful though it may be, as a defense against the net Germany is so skilfully weaving over Europe.

We discussed the rising tide of internal unrest in France and Belgium, and that which is threatening Holland.

"Unfortunately these disturbances are only strengthening German Nationalism," said His Majesty.

Hitler, looking over the ostensible quiet of Germany, points with satisfaction to the labor unrest around him and cries, "For this reason I have rid Germany of Communists." Otto, though loath to agree with any of *Der Führer's* dogmas, admits that "Austria must be kept free of a discontented proletariat and the radical element which makes it so." A

chain is as strong as its weakest link.

For the time during my audience I wished the bars of diplomacy could be dropped. Otto was so anxious to send a message to the outside world. As "His Majesty" he dared not say more than "Yes, I am ready. I have faith enough in my people and in my God to know I will rule Austria." "When?" I asked His Majesty

Baron Mirbach's approach interrupted his answer.

"May I say within a very few months, Your Majesty?"

The reply was muffled by the noise of an approaching motor. But it sounded very much like "October" to me. By then, the Olympic games will be over, tourist trade will be on the wane, and Austria will be ready for excitement.

Walking back through the grounds, Zita's luxurious car drove past me. I stopped for a moment to look after the mother of Austria's future ruler. Though she had sped by quickly, it was not fast enough to keep me from glimpsing a determined, intelligent face, whose eyes, like those of her son, flashed a message.

ANOTHER ANGLE—As a result of Dr. Schacht's visit to Belgrade, a definite agreement was reached about Austria * * * The German Government * * * is actually encouraging the Restorationist efforts of the Hapsburgs * * * The next development * * * is a recrudescence of the earlier Nazi idea of arranging a "plebiscite" in Austria to decide the form of government. It is calculated that there might be * * * a very large pro-Hapsburg vote * * * It is presumed that the Hapsburgs would take the opportunity of such a vote to make a definite move, either in a "constitutional" form, or by a sort of *putsch* based on the "enthusiasm" engendered by the plebiscite. It would be at this point that the Yugoslavs would march in. * * * Then, with Austria in upheaval, and the Yugoslav troops in partial occupation, would come the opportunity for Nazis inside Austria—with the assistance of the Yugoslav military and of the Berlin Government—to bring off their *putsch*.

From *The Week*, London, June 24.



CONFERENCE: Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg and Mussolini, as they appeared during Rome talks in 1934.

© International News

will AUSTRIA

BY

W. Walter Crotch

go DEMOCRATIC?

Not a prediction, but
an analysis of a little-
reckoned possibility.

EVENTS have moved with startling, and sometimes dramatic, rapidity in Austria during the past few months. They are laden with many portents. The tendencies of governmental control are still bewilderingly contradictory; and as a result they have merged themselves once more in a compromise, a fragile one, whose equilibrium may be disturbed by the most trifling incident. At the same time, however, it is an unusual compromise, inasmuch as the worst dangers, at least, of an impotent dictatorship have been temporarily removed and the prospect of a partial restoration of free and liberal institutions can be dimly envisaged. In any case, the new policy of the Government is one which should be carefully scrutinized by every one who has a real concern for peace, since the effects of that policy must inevitably affect the international situation.

In order to completely grasp why it is that Austria remains the keystone to the arch of international concord, it is necessary to understand her present internal position. The general situation in the autumn of 1935 was as follows: A Government comprising three candidates for the not-very-enviable post of dictator — Schuschnigg, Starhemberg, and Fey; profound and practically universal dissatisfaction with that Government; loss of ground by the Nazis and gains by the Reds or Revolutionaries; and in foreign affairs, coolness in Austria's relations with the League of Nations, owing to the Viennese Cabi-

net's refusal to adhere to Geneva's sanctions against Italy.

Rather unexpectedly, a reconstruction of the Cabinet was effected. One of the aspiring dictators, Major Fey, was thrown out of the Government with scant courtesy, but as a solace he was given the lucrative post of president of the Danube Navigation Company. Other ministers, such as Hommerstein-Equord, known for their hostility to Germany, were removed almost simultaneously.

As time passed—this was prior to the date when the Italians in Abyssinia turned potential failure into positive success by the use of poison gas—the Austrian rulers began to develop doubts as to the efficacy of Italian assistance in the event of a German attack. The obvious course to pursue in such circumstances would have been to rally wholeheartedly to the League of Nations and to rely on the courage and strength of the Western Powers. But the obvious course seldom commends itself to the amiably tortuous Viennese mind. In this instance, Vienna had perhaps some justification for the hesitancy and vacillation which it displayed, for, truth to tell, British foreign policy just then appeared more in the nature of a quicksand than a solid rock on which to build. Moreover the Quai d'Orsay was presided over by M. Pierre Laval, whose strange and paradoxical Central European policy induced him to give unwavering support to France's enemy, Beck, and to attempt to torpedo

France's loyal friends, Benes and Titulescu. This amazing exhibition of diplomatic acrobatics was not calculated to inspire Vienna with any strong confidence. Be that as it may, however, when Schuschnigg was told by his military advisers that in case of a European conflagration breaking out while Italy was still engaged in Abyssinia, the Italian forces in the Brenner could not be expected to hold up the Germans for longer than a fortnight, he decided to try to link up Italy and Germany. This plan had been already more or less vaguely suggested, or hinted at, by the Hungarian Premier, Gömbös, and it enjoyed the cordial and persistent advocacy of Herr von Papen, Hitler's envoy in Vienna.

Bloc of Neutrals

Schuschnigg, Gömbös, and Mussolini met in Rome, and the so-called Rome pacts were concluded. These amounted to the formation of the nucleus of a Bloc of Neutrals, to which it was hoped that Poland would subsequently be added. It was a bloc which, in the event of war between Germany and France with her allies, would at first observe neutrality, and then, when military developments indicated the probable outcome of the struggle, would throw the weight of some 10,000,000 fresh bayonets into the scale on the winning side. A really favorite Italian device! And it was a policy which Germany viewed with evident favor. In the course of *pourparlers* which took place at the house of the Austrian consul general in Budapest, Herr von Papen is said to have hinted both to Gömbös and to the Austrian representative, Herr Neustädter-Stürmer, that Hitler would be willing to sign a twenty-five year self-denying ordinance so far as Austria was concerned, provided that Vienna and Budapest would undertake

to act as a bridge between Berlin and Rome.

But the whole situation was suddenly and radically altered by two events: the triumph of Italian arms in East Africa and the Phoenix Insurance Company scandal in Austria. The first seemed likely to set Italy free in the near future to use her full weight in European affairs. The second dealt a rude blow at the already shaky fabric of the Schuschnigg-Starhemberg regime.

The Phoenix affair warrants closer examination. The Phoenix Insurance Company, since the violent crash of the *Kredit Anstalt*, was the only Austrian concern of real international note in the world of finance. Its extremely clever director, Dr. Berliner, had been forced into unorthodox methods by pressure from the Viennese Government, which on the one hand urged him to expand at all costs in order to bolster up Austrian prestige, and on the other hand, compelled him repeatedly to place the Phoenix reserves at the disposal of a depleted national treasury. Dr. Berliner had no illusions in regard to either the homogeneity or the permanency of the regime. He had to insure the Phoenix Insurance Company against the intrigues of the various factions inside the Government camp, and against the overthrow of the regime itself by its internal and external foes. Accordingly he established a list of "pensionaries" on which figured the Nazis, the Hapsburgs, and some of the Left organizations. On it figured also the *Heimwehr*, the Government's representatives on his Board of Directors, and a number of prominent persons in the Government camp and in the press of the regime. This sort of thing, of course, could not go on forever. You cannot keep a vessel filled when it has a dozen holes in it. Dr. Berliner died. It was then officially revealed (the fact had long been known unofficially) that the

reserves of the Phoenix had evaporated. This could not have happened in a democratic state where the press was at liberty to expose a scandal at the beginning. But even in a semi-fascist state, where there is no freedom of the press whatever, the scandal, having burst, could not be suppressed entirely. A commission of inquiry was appointed. It prepared a report which comprised 48 pages of names — prominent persons who had received either bribes or bounties from the Phoenix, ranging from a "pension" of £12 per month to a lump payment of £80,000, this last having been made to the *Heimwehr*. With a flourish of trumpets and a great beating of drums, the Government announced that it would reveal the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and forthwith published—two out of the forty-eight pages of names! Even these two pages, however, although they did not contain the names of the most prominent of the benefactors under the Phoenix system of *largesse*, were sufficient to compromise the regime. Moreover, the publication led to a violent fight inside the Cabinet, between those who wanted to publish nothing and those who wanted to publish everything. A definite split appeared: on the one hand, the militant *Heimwehr* section, with Starhemberg, Foreign Minister Berger-Waldenegg, and Finance Minister Draxler; on the other, the more democratic group with Dobrettsberger, Social Welfare Minister, his Secretary of State Znidaric, and Minister of Agriculture Strobl. Each group demanded the resignation of the other. It was almost Gilbertian, save for its gravity. Chancellor Schuschnigg — whom, by the way, even his fiercest political opponents acquit of any participation in the Phoenix "deal"—was in a quandary, made all the more painful by agitation which was beginning to spread among the masses of the people. The Nazis

were not slow in pointing out that the late Dr. Berliner was a Jew. From that fact they deduced, to the greater glory of Hitlerism, that all Jews are rogues and robbers. The Reds retorted that a scandal of such magnitude, stretching out its antennæ into the highest circles, was the inevitable consequence of an undemocratic authoritarian system of government. The 300,000 Austrian citizens who held Phoenix insurance policies trembled, anxious for their money and at the same time, indignant. The 4,000-odd insurance agents and employees filled the air with embittered bewailings because the Government ordered a deduction in their salaries of from 15% to 18% in order to help fill the empty Phoenix treasury. The situation was rendered still more dangerous by conditions in the semi-military organizations. For some time past, Schuschnigg had realized the peril threatening the State from Prince Starhemberg's private army, the *Heimwehr*. He had cast about for methods by which to draw its teeth and had hit upon the expedient of fusing all these Austrian private armies into one military body, to be called the National Volunteer Militia. The idea was sound enough, but its execution was deplorable. It was not clearly stated that the new Militia was to be under the control of the Army. On the contrary, since the very basis of the Army was to be altered—a mercenary time-serving cadre force to be transformed into a compulsory one—people imagined that the militia was to pursue an independent existence, and acted accordingly. The fight for control of the Militia began. Schuschnigg then made a gigantic mistake. Thinking that the *Heimwehr* would follow a bright example given by the rival organizations, he disarmed and practically disbanded his own private force, the clerical *Ostmärkische Sturmscharen*, the Catholic working-men's *Freiheits-*

bund, and the smaller organizations. These were reduced to the status of civil associations and their militant members were drafted into the Militia. But the *Heimwehr* took precious care that, while going into the Militia it, and no one else, should control the organization and should retain custody of its rifles, machine-guns, armored cars and ammunition.

No sooner had Schuschnigg perpetrated this blunder than he began to deplore it and to seek means of repairing the damage. May Day seemed to provide him with the opportunity. For years past the Catholic trade unionists, on or about May 1, had held a parade in honor of the papal encyclical known as *quadrogesimo anno*, a sort of Roman Catholic chart of working-class rights. Schuschnigg decided that the *Freiheitsbund* should hold this parade in full uniform partially under arms, on the Heldenplatz, the historic square in front of the old imperial palace. Further, he decided that he himself would take an active part in the proceedings. Starhemberg protested with extreme vigor, but only succeeded in obtaining a week's postponement. Thus on the following Sunday the *Freiheitsbund* held its celebration and marched in military formation past the Chancellor and the left-wing ministers along Vienna's famous main thoroughfare, the Ring. It had to run the gauntlet of the *Heimwehr* people vociferously assisted by Nazi enthusiasts. Insults of all kinds were hurled at the Chancellor's head. On a balcony overlooking the scene, Major Fey appeared as a kind of *redivivus* would-be dictator and for two hours basked in the clamorous adulation of a mob frantically shouting: "Long Live Fascism!" The whole affair was said to have been organized by Prince Starhemberg's two personal A.D.C.'s. Both on the Ring, and in the course of severe scuffles between the *Heimwehr* and the

Freiheitsbund in various parts of the city, the police were bound to interfere. Some seventy arrests of *Heimwehr* fascists, including officers in uniform, were made, but Vice Chancellor Starhemberg hastened to the police stations and ordered all the delinquents immediately liberated. The climax was reached when Fey was borne shoulder high by his supporters down the Ring. The day was laden with the virus of civil war. It was all too evident that the Government Bloc was already torn in twain and that no further attempt could be made to maintain the official pretense of the unity of the "Patriotic Front."

It is very possible that had Starhemberg given his *Heimwehr* marching orders that Sunday night, the fascist cause might have triumphed. But Starhemberg, like the swashbuckling General Boulanger, had other private fish to fry. Thus he failed his men in the crucial hour; he allowed his opportunity to slip. To make this good he decided upon a spectacular *coup* and a dramatic gesture: he announced to an astonished world that he was on the point of leaving for Rome "to consult Mussolini," the Master Fascist of them all. And, in order to predispose Il Duce in his favor, he sent him a flamboyant telegram in which he mentioned Fascism in lyrical terms seven times in the course of ten lines! Next, the British, French, Czechoslovakian, and Yugoslavian ministers appeared at the Foreign Office to demand the meaning of this untoward Fascist-Italian demonstration on the part of the second-in-command in the Austrian Cabinet. This forced Schuschnigg's hand, and he called together an "inner council" of ministers and demanded Starhemberg's resignation. The Prince stormed during the whole of the four and a half hours of discussion. He began by declaring that he would resist—he had the *Heimwehr* at his back. To which Schuschnigg

dryly retorted that the Federal Army was more than a match for the *Heimwehr*. In the end, Starhemberg cooled down and consented to go and to take his *Heimwehr* colleague, Minister for Foreign Affairs Berger - Waldenegg, with him—but on two conditions: (1) that the new Vice-Chancellor should be a man of the *Heimwehr* and (2) that the three left-wing ministers should also resign. Rightly or wrongly, Schuschnigg, to avoid possible civil war, agreed.

Starhemberg left for Rome, there to receive a vigorous curtain-lecture from Mussolini on his tactlessness in exploding this Austrian bomb at a moment when Italy's own international situation was none too secure. He exchanged telegrams with the *Heimwehr* in which he demanded (and later received) pledges of implicit obedience to his personal commands. Meantime Schuschnigg was (and is) by no means out of the woods. The *Heimwehr* is still in the Militia and still controls the Militia. The near future will show whether it can be disarmed tactfully and peacefully. Meanwhile the whole affair has had a profound effect on the distribution of contending political forces in Austria. On the one hand, it has drawn two erstwhile enemies, the Nazis and the *Heimwehr*, closer together under a common fascist parole. On the other hand, it bids fair to drive Schuschnigg's party, if not Schuschnigg himself, into the necessity of forming an anti-Fascist bloc—a sort of *Front Populaire*—with the Social Democrats.

The first of these processes was clearly revealed by a conference of German and Austrian Nazi leaders held at the Salzburg villa of former Minister Hueber, who happens to be Goering's brother-in-law. The Austrian Nazis were instructed at that conference to abstain from all independent revolutionary action; to try to influence events in

the direction of a fascist pro-German Government under Major Fey, but, should that move prove impossible, to rally to the support of a fascist *Heimwehr* cabinet under Starhemberg.

This concentration of Fascist forces is willy-nilly driving the Christian Social followers of Schuschnigg into *pour-parlers* with the Social Democrats. The Church favors these efforts, at least for the moment, since it feels itself threatened by the anti-clericalism of the *Heimwehr* and the Nazis. The Christian workmen would ask no better than to heal the differences which, since February 1934, have separated them from their Marxist fellow-workmen.

The first attempts at conferences failed. A Viennese Christian Social lawyer, Dr. Zörnleib, was the first to be sent with the white flag of truce into the illegal Marxist camp. But ex-Chancellor Renner, prominent among the moderate, or right-wing, Social Democrats, broke off the conversations because he did not think Dr. Zörnleib carried enough weight. Then Schuschnigg's military A.D.C. lieutenant, Colonel Kern, sent for Major Eifler, former Chief of Staff of the Socialist Republican *Schutzbund*, which carried out the Red *putsch* in February 1934, and sounded him on the possibility of an agreement. Major Eifler, who was but recently released from jail, was very reserved. He declared that he could speak for no one but himself, but that his personal view was that, whereas the Republicans could take no sides in a conflict between two rival sections of their foes, the situation would be changed were the Ministry to restore full democratic rights and return to orderly parliamentary government. And there the matter stands at the moment these lines are written.

It cannot remain there long. Whether or not Schuschnigg succeeds in settling the *Heimwehr* problem with-

out bloodshed, it is now clear that he cannot rule indefinitely without popular support. He has lost the allegiance of the *Heimwehr*. He must replace it with aid from the Left, or drift towards a catastrophe. Thus, while there is nothing very tangible to grasp, it is an undoubted fact that in Austria at the moment the idea of a return to democratic government and free institutions is in the air. Perchance the time has not yet ripened, but it is surely in the process of ripening. From information which I have derived from both camps it would appear that a possible basis of compromise may be found, generally in restoration or establishment of the following:

- (1) Full trade-union liberties.
- (2) Freedom of the press.
- (3) Liberty of political organization for parties prepared to recognize the principle of Austrian sovereignty.
- (4) Replacement of the present hybrid cabinet by one under a prominent "left-minded" Christian Social, possibly with the inclusion of some moderate Social Democrats.
- (5) As soon as convenient thereafter, election of a constituent assembly to revise the constitution.

It is evident that, should events shape this way, the consequences for Austria's international situation would be drastic. Dreams of playing the part of a bridge between Germany and Italy would be abandoned. The present policy of servile obedience to the Palazzo Chigi would be modified. Political support and cooperation would be sought primarily in London and Paris. Economic agreement would be attempted with Prague and the Little Entente. Austria would definitely and frankly enter the European Peace Front.



These are pleasant prospects indeed, but as yet they are merely of "such stuff as dreams are made of." Between these alluring visions and their realization stand many obstacles; the unsated ambition of Herr Hitler for one; the mercurial temperament of Prince Starhemberg and the interests of his backers in the armaments industry, for another; and last, but not least, that strangely twisting and wonderfully inefficient Austrian mentality which loves to envelop every clear and direct issue in artificial fog, and which has ever refused to realize that the shortest distance between two points is, and will always be, a straight line.



BATTLESHIP'S DOOM

Airplanes—guns in the sky! One reason why Britain, monarch of the seas, slowed up against Italian aggression; why Japan, another naval power, treads warily with the Soviet.

By The Right Honorable Lord Strabolgi

IN the Middle Ages when gunpowder, invented centuries before in China, was adopted for use in war, the armored knights were doomed. The mounted warriors, with their suits of plate armor for themselves and their horses, were highly specialized and expensive. The musketeers were cheap, numerous, and easily trained. Medieval chivalry struggled to survive by increasing the thickness of its armor until the knights became so heavy and unwieldy that, if unhorsed, they were either stunned by the fall, or incapable of rising without assistance. The downfall of the Knightly Orders meant the end of the feudal system, immense social changes in Europe, and the uprising of nationalism as we understand it today.

We are witnessing in these times a similar revolution brought about by the invention of the airplane. Sea power has had a great influence on the history of empires. The state which was able to use the seas built up its wealth, territory, and power. Greece, Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and Britain are leading examples. The United States of America became a sea power soon after they established sovereign nationality. Prior to the solution of the problems of flight, the oceans were dominated by the

nations possessing strong naval forces. From the days of the Roman and Carthaginian galley fleets right up to the battle of Jutland in the Great War, large and powerful surface warships were the ultimate masters of the situation. The galley gave way to the sailing man-of-war with her stout oak hull and batteries of cannon; and the three-decker, in turn, to the armored battleship. As the artillery increased in power and range, the warships were increased in size so as to carry the necessary armor protection against the missiles of the artillery. Only wealthy nations can maintain fleets of large warships.

The inventors of the torpedo thought that they had discovered a weapon which would democratize sea warfare. They believed that this under-water method of attack had made the great warship obsolete. The French school, which embraced the doctrine of the *guerre de course*, prevailed for a period to the extent that the French Government believed it could wrest sea power from Britain, their traditional marine enemy, by amplifying the number of torpedo-boats. But antidotes to the torpedo-boats were introduced—the larger, faster, more powerful torpedo-boat destroyers. And naval architects re-

sponded to the challenge of the underwater torpedo attack by again increasing the size of warships so as to be able to provide them with protective outer hulls under water and internal armor below the surface of the sea.

The torpedo was adopted on a large scale in the eighties of the last century. It was never *used* on a large scale. In the last decisive battle fought between battleships, the action at Tsushima*, the torpedo played no part at all. The issue was decided by the gun, and its antidote — armor - plating. Nevertheless, the torpedo had an influence on later naval tactics, especially after the invention of the submarine. In the great naval campaigns of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the superior fleet of large warships sought action off the enemy coast. In the World War the admirals on both sides endeavored to keep large warships away from areas where the torpedo craft, surface and submerged, could operate. For by this time the submarine boat had been improved, and though slow and blind, it nevertheless constituted a threat by torpedo action. The endeavor of both High Commands in that war was to keep the great line of battleships in reserve and intact as a threat.

The indecisive battle of Jutland was a strategic accident. Neither side knew that the battle fleet of its opponent was at sea. The British thought they were fighting a cruiser action with their own battleships in hidden reserve; and the Germans were under the same delusion. The meeting of the battle fleets was therefore accidental. When they did meet, the desire of the British, in spite of their great superiority, to pre-

serve their large warships, led to the action being fought at long range with indecisive results. The strategy of the British High Command was broadly correct in that so long as a superior fleet of battleships remained in being, the long-range blockade of Germany could be made effective. If no new factor had been introduced into naval warfare, battleships would have survived despite the arguments and doubts still expressed, based on the torpedo menace.

Now, however, an entirely new set of conditions exists. The airplanes, because of their cheapness, mobility, and, therefore, their numbers, present an extremely serious problem for the naval architects. The modern super-dreadnought type of battleship now being built for the American, British, and Japanese Navies, can be made very strong, but she is extremely costly. Not only must she be designed to carry powerful long-range artillery for fighting other battleships and heavy armor to protect her from the shell fire of her opponents of the same class, but she must also carry special protection against air attack and a special battery of anti-aircraft artillery. This necessitates a vessel of 30,000 to 40,000 tons, costing between \$27,500,000 and \$30,000,000. The Japanese naval staff is talking of a battleship of 50,000 tons to cost \$45,000,000. Naval armaments depend on finance; thus it is obvious that only a limited number of these mastodons can be constructed and maintained. Their cost of upkeep is heavy; they need large, expensive docks for repair purposes, and in addition they must be protected by minesweepers, numerous destroyers to keep off hostile submarines and torpedo-boats, look-out cruisers, and by aircraft in floating carriers.

For the same monetary expenditure a very large force of airplanes to fly from the land can be built and main-

(*) Battle of Tsushima, so called from the Japanese island Tsushima, off which during the Russo-Japanese war a great naval engagement was fought on May 27 and 28, 1905, in which the Japanese under Togo outmaneuvered and decisively defeated an equal number of Russian capital ships (12) under Rozhdestvensky.

tained. Thus the torpedo-carrying airplane, capable of flying at 250 miles an hour, can be produced in large numbers for \$25,000 apiece. It would have a crew of one or two men. A fast bombing machine can be built for \$40,000, and a very long-range and powerful flying-boat for between \$100,000 and \$150,000. True, the airplane lasts only four or five years, and the life of a battleship is from twenty to twenty-five years. Nevertheless, it is obvious that for an equal expenditure a swarm of airplanes can be constructed which could obliterate a squadron of battleships and their attendant craft, if the latter approached within flying range of the land-based aircraft. This means that in any future European warfare, the Baltic, North Sea, Mediterranean, and a large area of the Western Atlantic will be unhealthy for warships. In harbor or dock within flying distance of hostile aircraft, the large warships will be particularly vulnerable.

Problem in the Pacific

The American naval problem centers on the Pacific. There the distances are greater. The present argument of the American Navy chiefs is that they need large warships which can make the passage from California to the Philippines and back, fighting actions on the way and able to carry on without having to go into dock. They claim that only the very large battleship can do this. In the present state of aeronautical development, large areas of the Pacific can be used for naval operations without the air arm dominating. But what will be the position in ten years' time, when, with the continuing speed of aeronautical development, another stage of progress has been reached?

The past history of naval warfare

has left a deep mark on the popular mind, as well as on the minds of the professional naval experts themselves. The professional mind accepts change slowly. When the gun was the only weapon in use at sea, the large battleship, with her stoutly protected hull, whether it was made of thick oak or covered with iron and, later, with hardened steel plates, and carrying the heaviest artillery in use, was immune from attack except from her own kind. In the days of the sailing navies it was not considered etiquette for a ship of the line (the battleship of her day) even to fire her broadside at the frigate (cruiser). The frigate kept out of the way of the three-decker. The battleships sought each other out, therefore, if they were fairly evenly matched, for the purpose of joining in battle under what each commander considered favorable circumstances. A weaker fleet attempted to avoid action, but where they were evenly matched, a battle sooner or later was inevitable.

Hence the great decisive naval actions of the past; and among these can be included the battle of Tsushima. The Russian Admiral knew he would have to fight to get to Vladivostok, and the Japanese knew they would have to fight to prevent him. These gladiatorial combats are not likely to happen again, even if battleships continue to exist in the leading navies.

Gun Range

The old-fashioned, muzzle-loading shore artillery, in use up to 1830, had an effective range of three miles; hence the accepted limitation of territorial waters. It was an axiom in the days of smooth-bore cannons and sailing ships that, unless in overwhelming force, the warships should keep out of the range of the shore artillery. As the guns improved in range and power,

so the warships became more reluctant to engage shore batteries. In the Russo-Japanese war, Admiral Togo's ships kept well out of reach of the land forts at Port Arthur. In the war of 1914-1918 even the most powerful of the British monitors, specially constructed for in-shore coastal work, kept out of the range of the heavy guns mounted by the Germans on the Flanders coast. This was perfectly sound doctrine, because the ship is more vulnerable to shell fire than the masked and entrenched battery on shore.

The bomb-carrying airplane for purposes of war is a gun with a range of some hundreds of miles. The numbers of shore-based airplanes have increased enormously. Every Great Power is increasing its air fleet, and the airplanes will be numbered in thousands when the present programs are completed. It is known, for example, that the Russians are working up to a program of 15,000 airplanes, and they already possess some 5,000 machines. The Japanese Navy is supreme in the Eastern Pacific, but the Japanese Government is careful not to proceed to extremes with the Soviet Government because Russian airplanes can fly from the Maritime Province of Siberia, bomb the Japanese cities, and return. If the warships, however large and powerful, cannot with prudence operate within flying range of the enemy coast, their sphere of action is greatly curtailed.

Air power was rudimentary in the World War. Britain and her Allies were immensely superior at sea to Germany, especially after the intervention of the United States of America. Yet much loss and inconvenience were caused by German air attacks on Britain. In the next European conflict, however numerous and powerful the sea surface navies, the flying navies probably will decide the issue.

Immediate past history confirms the

belief that the air arm has brought about a revolution in warfare as far-reaching as gunpowder. In the past it has been the great, wealthy nations with overseas trade and, therefore, with a large and prosperous mercantile marine, which alone could possess powerful navies. And today the only naval powers which matter are the United States of America, Britain, Japan, France, and presently, Germany. To maintain a large fleet needs not only money, but great engineering resources and a maritime population. But a comparatively poor nation can build up an air fleet. Airplanes can be constructed quickly and their pilots trained with equal rapidity.

A battleship navy is the result of slow growth and heavy expenditure. Therefore the "aristocratic" navies, the possessions of the great and powerful, are threatened by the "democratic" air forces, the possessions of the comparatively weak and poor. The most recent example has been in the Mediterranean and has arisen from the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Britain endeavored to prevent this aggression, using the ready-made machinery of the League of Nations for the purpose. The Italians immediately denounced Britain as the enemy. A violent campaign of anti-British propaganda began, and in answer, Britain concentrated the flower of her Navy in the Mediterranean. Fifteen great capital ships with their attendant cruisers, destroyers, and minesweepers were available. The battleships were comparatively modern, and two of them were the most powerful in the world. The Italian fleet was not in the same class. Four old and comparatively small and weak prewar battleships were all that Italy possessed, and two of them had been out of commission for some years. No serious challenge to the British fleet could have been made by the Italian

naval forces. We can discount the sensational stories of Italian speedboats armed with torpedoes. There is an effective naval antidote to these, and also to the submarines. But the great British naval base and arsenal at Malta is only sixty miles away from the Italian aerodromes at Sicily. The main British Fleet was accordingly moved to Alexandria. Malta was prepared for a siege; but for naval purposes, it was practically evacuated. Even at Alexandria the threat of Italian airplanes flying from Libya, three hundred miles distant, was felt. At the beginning of the tension period, the British Air Force in Egypt and the anti-aircraft batteries of artillery available were comparatively weak. The capitals of Europe resounded with all sorts of rumors of perils from the air.

British naval strategy was affected by the Italian air threat. This has had an adverse effect on the whole of British high policy. The other Mediterranean Powers—France, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey, all members of the League—were sounded on the help they were prepared to give Britain against Italy with her third-rate Navy. From the pre-air age standpoint, Italy was in a vulnerable position, with a great Army dependent on the Suez Canal for its communications. If the problem had been only naval, the Suez Canal could have been denied to Italy in a night. The Italian Air Force is not stronger than the whole British Air Force, but it is better placed and concentrated for Mediterranean operations. There was fear of what the Italian Air Force might do. It was even rumored that the long-range Italian air bombers could fly from Turin to London and attack that great metropolis. It was well understood that reprisals could be undertaken against the exposed cities of Italy; but it was the air threat to Britain's battleships—her pride and her

strength—which decided the British Cabinet to avoid pushing sanctions to extremes.

Not until France had made her choice and decided to join the English in case Italy hit back at the sanctionist powers, particularly Britain, did the British Cabinet and the British Naval Staff feel comfortable again. Now if that could happen in the fall of 1935 because of the threat of a comparatively weak Italian Air Force, the most important part of which was involved in Abyssinia, what will be the position in the fall of 1938 in the Mediterranean when, instead of a total strength of 1,600 machines, the Italian Air Force numbers some 4,000, as is foreshadowed? And if the large, costly British warships can no longer dominate the Mediterranean because of the air threat now, what is their survival value?

The Admiralties and Navy Offices of the principal Powers are conservative. They cling to the symbols of past naval power. Thus we see the Americans, British, French, Japanese, and Germans still building the old type great warships. Even the Russians are considering the rebuilding of their sea-surface navy, including the construction of these large capital ships. So, in the period of the twilight of European chivalry, did the feudal lords maintain their armored knights, long after the musketeers dominated the battlefields. The King's Horse Guards in London still ride on ceremonial occasions wearing steel breastplates and brass helmets.

For Pacific operations the battleship may have a function for some years to come; but for the narrow European waters her days of dominance are over. Her future depends on finance.

As soon as the governments concerned realize that they can get better value in aircraft for an equal expenditure of money, the last keel of the great naval warship type will have been laid.



LOOK WHO'S HERE!

—George Matthew Adams Service

MAJOR PARTY PLATFORMS OF 1936

Our quadrennial debate as viewed by WALLACE S. SAYRE

THE party platform, it has been said, is something on which one gets into office. It can also be described as a document in which are merged the subtle skills of two practitioners in mass emotions: the lawyer and the writer of modern advertising. To the party platform, modern advertising lends its techniques of using symbols and phrases which evoke the desired response. Hence the generous sprinkling throughout every party platform of those familiar words and phrases—"liberty", "freedom", "American system", "constitutional", "sound money", "balanced budget", "privilege", "monopoly"—all meaningless, except when precisely described, yet heavily freighted with vague emotions.

But party warfare cannot be wholly confined to the polite usages of the advertising craft. So there is fused with the advertisement of the party's virtues the lawyer's plea to the jury and the carefully guarded terms of the legal contract. The opponent is charged with crimes, real and imaginary, relevant and irrelevant, and the party of the first part is wreathed in a halo of white light. However, there must be the implication of contractual obligations in the document. Promises are made,

but each one is so carefully hedged with a condition or qualification, or the proposition is so generally stated, that the platforms resemble nothing so much as a landlord-and-tenant contract.

In a sense, party platforms are quadrennial revisions of political myths. All that is evil, whether of ancient or recent origin, is attributed to the opposition; all that is good is unblushingly claimed as the fruit of *our* policies and the work of *our* leaders. Yet, despite all this, there is distinguishable to the realistic and the informed observer, a difference in approach, in emphasis, in overtone and undertone, between the platforms of the major parties. This difference, though always a subtle one, is more easily discovered in a period of party realignment. We are now in the midst of such a period. Consequently, the platforms of 1936 reveal more clearly than platforms have for many years, those differences in emphasis and approach which distinguish our parties.

PROLOGUE

Each of the platforms has a prologue devoted to indictment of the opposition and to self-praise. "America is in peril," declare the Republicans. "For

three long years," they continue, the Constitution and American traditions have been dishonored and ignored, a dictatorial bureaucracy has been established, there has been "frightful waste and extravagance", and "appeals to passion and class prejudice have replaced reason and tolerance."

"We pledge ourselves to maintain the American system of constitutional and local self-government, and to resist all attempts to impair the authority of the Supreme Court * * * (and) to preserve the American system of free enterprise, private competition, and equality of opportunity . . ." they go on.

To this the Democrats retort: "Twelve years of Republican leadership left our nation sorely stricken in body, mind and spirit; and * * * three years of Democratic leadership have put it back on the road to restored health and prosperity."

" . . . Republican surrender to the dictatorship of the privileged few" has been supplanted by "Democratic leadership which has returned the people themselves to the places of authority . . ." To the Republican charges of dictatorship and waste, Democrats answer: "* * * government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens. . . ."

The differences expressed here, apart from the exchange of pleasantries, are subtle. To the Republicans, government has a limited rôle; to the Democrats, it has an expanding rôle. Neither party is prepared to define its approach concretely.

REGULATION OF BUSINESS

Each party approaches this knotty problem warily. "We recognize," say the Republicans, "the existence of a field within which governmental regulation is desirable and salutary." But, they hastily continue, this regulation

should be by "an independent tribunal acting under clear and specific laws establishing definite standards," and the acts of these tribunals should be subject to review, on both law and facts, by the courts. These are serious limitations on the regulatory power. They emphasize the reluctance of Republicans to extend the field of regulation and their lack of enthusiasm for adequately empowered regulatory agencies.

The Democratic platform endorses the solution of "national problems" by "both State and Federal treatment."

"We know," they declare, "that drought, dust storms, floods, minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor and working conditions, monopolistic and unfair business practices, cannot be handled by forty-eight separate State legislatures . . . ;" and "if these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will assure to the legislatures of the several States and the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact those laws. . . ."

There is a clear difference of emphasis here. While the Republicans would limit and restrain regulation, the Democrats would increase the power and competency of the agencies of regulation, if need be by a Constitutional amendment. The issue of the relationship between the States and the Nation is carefully side-stepped, however, by the use of the phrase "each within its proper jurisdiction."

Both parties are anti-monopolist in sentiment, each pledging vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws and each charging the other with responsibility for the existence of monopolies. Neither party, however, is specific as to how great industrial combinations are to be dismantled.

There is a vague difference on the tariff, the Republicans declaring for "sufficient protection" and the Democrats, for "adequate protection." The Democrats praise their reciprocal trade agreements, which the Republicans condemn, though promising to "adjust tariffs."

Both parties approve the regulation of securities and of public utilities.

AGRICULTURE

The platforms reveal but little conflict on the agricultural problem. The Republicans somewhat plaintively accuse the Democrats of plagiarism in adopting "the Republican policy of soil conservation and land retirement." The "New Deal Administration," they charge, "misuses the program to serve partisan ends." As if disturbed by this absence of a real agricultural issue, the Republicans then propose thirteen separate aids to agriculture, most of them being a recapitulation of the routine functions of the Department of Agriculture. The Democratic platform reaffirms present administration policy in soil conservation and land retirement, and adds farm tenancy as a new problem to be attacked.

It is evident that the Republicans dare not disapprove the benefit payments to farmers. The prospect of losing the West by such a position is too real. Nevertheless, in the phrase "as an emergency measure", there is an implication that the Republicans would prefer an early termination of the benefits.

LABOR

The slow rise of labor to a position of power in the American party system is reflected in the platforms. The Republicans pledge to "protect the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representa-

tives of its own choosing without interference from any source"; "prevent governmental job holders from exercising autocratic powers over labor"; "support the adoption of State laws and interstate compacts to abolish sweatshops and child labor, and to protect women and children with respect to maximum hours, minimum wages, and working conditions."

Each of these statements is vague and equivocal. "Without interference from anyone" seems to deny governmental aid to labor in company union disputes. It is difficult to guess what autocratic powers "governmental job holders" have over labor. And Governor Landon found it advisable to clarify the proposal to protect women and children by declaring he would favor a Constitutional amendment permitting States to adopt such laws.

The Democratic platform makes more specific promises to labor. It points to the "right to collective bargaining and self-organization free from the interference of employers" and declares that national power is essential to the protection of the wages and conditions of labor. There is but little doubt that labor will find these declarations more satisfying than the Republican hedging.

RELIEF

There is a clearly discernible difference in approach, if not in specific statement, between the two parties on the question of relief and unemployment. "The necessities of life must be provided for the needy," say the Republicans. But relief administration must be returned to the States, Federal grants must be proportionate to State and local expenditures, and relief administrators must be chosen by merit.

"Unemployment is a national problem," reply the Democrats, and "it is

an inescapable obligation of our Government to meet it in a national way." They continue: "Where business fails to supply such employment, we believe that work at prevailing wages should be provided. . . ." The basic difference is not too deeply buried behind these sentences: the Republicans prefer the "dole" to work relief, the payment of major relief costs by States rather than by the Federal Government. The real issue here is: who shall pay the bill—those who pay federal income taxes, or those who pay State taxes? The Democrats favor payment from the ability-to-pay revenues of the Federal treasury.

Both parties naturally favor re-employment by private industry. The Republicans would promote reemployment by the "elimination of unnecessary and hampering regulations." The Democrats refuse to admit their regulations are either hampering or unnecessary.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Both parties endorse social security legislation. The Democrats approve the present statute with the promise that benefits shall keep step with higher standards of living. The Republican platform proposes several important modifications in the present system.

"We approve a pay-as-you-go policy," the Republicans announce, the Federal revenues to be "provided from the proceeds of a direct tax widely distributed." This hints at the sales tax. When coupled with other Republican criticisms of the Democratic security legislation, these proposals indicate that the real issue again is: who shall pay?

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Republicans charge that there has been "shameful waste and general

financial irresponsibility." They would "stop the folly of uncontrolled spending", "balance the budget * * * by cutting expenditures, drastically and immediately", "revise the Federal tax system * * * using the taxing power for raising revenue and not for punitive or political purposes." Democrats deny the charge of waste, point to restored values, and declare "we are determined to reduce the expenses of government", "achieve a balanced budget", and obtain revenue from "taxes levied in accordance with ability to pay." Thus each party promises reductions in expenditures (though neither says where), each party would balance the budget (though neither says when or how), and one would "revise" the tax system, while the other would emphasize ability-to-pay taxes.

Each party is for a sound currency. The Republicans would not further devalue the dollar, and Governor Landon's footnote would make it "convertible into gold" at a distant date. The Democrats favor "a permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent the former wide fluctuations in value. . . ." The difference is not clear.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Both parties are isolationist. The Republicans achieve a greater degree of isolation by expressly repudiating the League of Nations, but relent to the extent of favoring tribunals of arbitration. The Democrats propose "the policy of the good neighbor," but fail to specify their attitude toward international agencies.

MERIT SYSTEM

The two parties make almost identical statements on the maintenance of the merit system in civil service.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Each party pays allegiance to the Bill of Rights and declares for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

CONCLUSION

The voter must look beyond the platforms to the history, composition, and leadership of each party if he

would know more specifically what are the issues of 1936. From the platforms he will be able to conclude only that in emphasis and overtone, the Democratic platform reveals a pro-labor and pro-agriculture sentiment, and that the Republican platform restrains such sentiments to reveal a pro-industrial one.



THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

—Detroit News



PERILOUS PERCH

—Baltimore Sun

THE LATEST

FRENCH REVOLUTION*

BY FRANK C. HANIGHEN

**The situation, what produced it, and why you shouldn't wager on the outcome.*

THE sounds which come from France today possess the ominous ring of that tumbril which carried Marie Antoinette, and with her, the old order, to execution. A Socialist Premier, his party the largest in the Chamber, shrilly inveighs against capitalism. His ally, the Communist Party, its vote doubled in the last election, confidently tries to pull him farther to the Left. The old Radical Party, once the bugaboo of the Right, exists mainly as a conservative ballast to this rocky ship of state. And strikes, adding to the confusion, break out everywhere in industrial France, carrying with them more than a million workers. The strikers, in a manner disquietingly like that of Petrograd, 1917, or Italy just before Mussolini's advent, occupy factories, raise red flags and hold their managers prisoner. Has another French revolution started? Is France going through a Bolshevik '93?

French conservatives believe so, in spite of all evidence to the contrary. No matter that Premier Blum issues reassuring statements to the financiers and promises to work within the framework of capitalism; nor that the strikers, their wage demands met, return to their lathes. The Right still sees those red flags over the factories as a portent of revolution. The cause of it all, they say, is the *Front Populaire*. Unquestionably, this union of the parties of the Left which won the recent elections dominates the political scene and must therefore take responsibility for the situation. Undeniably, too, some of its

leaders are Communists and have demanded the overthrow of the present economic and political system. But only a scrutiny of all the elements that compose this extraordinary alliance and a recital of the romantic saga of its rise to power can provide an answer to whether France is actually in the throes of revolution.

The *Front Populaire* movement was born on that memorable February 6, 1934, when mobs tried to storm the Chamber of Deputies. The Left parties saw in this riot an attack on democracy. They knew that organizations among the rioters were subsidized by reactionary elements; they took notice of a press campaign apparently fed by large sums of money to discredit parliamentary government. With the dramatic imagination of the French, they interpreted the situation in terms of what had happened in Germany. Had not the steel king, Thyssen, supported the Nazis? The *Comité des Forges* (steel trust), they believed, was now following his example. As for a Hitler, they had not far to look. He was already present in the person of Colonel de la Rocque, head of the fascist organization, the *Croix de Feu*.

Responding to this impulse, all the parties of the Left—some eagerly, others reluctantly—stopped their inter-necine sparring and came together in the alliance of the *Front Populaire*—not a revolutionary, but an anti-revolutionary, alliance to preserve the democratic *status quo*. They agreed to support each other in the elections:

whichever candidate of the *Front* ran highest in the primary would be supported by the other parties in the runoff. This was no mean achievement, considering the deep-seated factionalism of French parties.

Union of Parties

A superficial survey of the various groups which thus put union above party principles provides, perhaps, the strangest picture of enemies forgetting old scores ever witnessed in a democratic country.

First of all, there were the Communists, a spectacular phenomenon in this citadel of private property. Previously, their small representation in the Chamber had devoted much of its time to interrupting debates with shrieks of "Soviets Everywhere", just to render parliamentary government difficult. Now, after gentle reminders from Moscow, it saw that Fascism was a danger greater than democracy. After all, there are no concentration camps in the Third Republic.

This same specter scared the Socialists, too. Besides, the Socialists, while demanding an end to capitalism, believe in orderly progress and observance of democratic processes. It is well to realize, also, that the French Socialists are by no means all fanatical proletarians. There are many Catholics in their ranks, particularly in their stronghold, the textile center of Lille. They even draw a large farm vote; Blum represents the agricultural constituency of Narbonne.

André Siegfried once asked a farmer why he voted for a party which proposed abolition of private property. The reply was: "Oh, that won't happen tomorrow . . . I'm a Socialist, of course, but my true party is republican . . . but one must move with the times." In this utterance lies the secret, not only of the Socialists', but also

the Radical-Socialists', success with France's great population of small property owners.

The Radical-Socialist Party, which has dominated the French scene so often in the past half century, may best be described as the "little man's party." Its leaders no longer cringe under the jibe that it is neither radical nor socialist. For they feel that they have "moved with the times" even if their stated aims are more radical than their accomplishments. Strictly speaking, this party is the counterpart of our Progressive group in the United States, and among its leaders, Herriot appears on close inspection no more radical than Borah, and Daladier no more socialistic than La Follette. The Radicals draw their support mainly from small farmers, tradesmen, little employers, and petty investors. Statistics indicate the strength of this class in France. Of 8,391,000 persons engaged in agriculture, five millions own their own land. Of the industrial population, 11% are employers (in Britain, only 3%). Finally it is estimated that every fifth person holds French Government securities. France is, *par excellence*, a nation of small capitalists.

Why these coupon-clippers and property owners should join a party with such a revolutionary label is best explained by saying that the soul of 1793 still goes marching on. This is the famous *mystique de gauche* which pervades the speeches of Radical politicians as the memory of Jackson and Lincoln does those of our Democratic and Republican orators. Yet a Radical Deputy, while talking Left, often votes Right. Hence the puzzling contradiction between the party name and some of the policies it actually backs—a characteristic, indeed, of other French parties. The perplexed Lord Cecil asked a Deputy, "To what party do you belong?" The latter clarified, "I am

one of those Republicans of the Left, who sit in the Center and vote with the Right." No matter that such a Deputy has subscribed to some very radical planks. He feels, nevertheless, that he has done his duty by giving lip allegiance to the spirit of the greatest of revolutions. Albert Thibaudet was right when he said, "The Radical party is the only party in France which would fight the Great French Revolution all over again."

Ballyhoo

This, then, was the great reservoir of political emotion tapped by the *Front Populaire*. One need not question, however, the sincerity of the fiercely Republican sentiments of the various parties of the alliance by saying that clever direction of the campaign and effective ballyhoo had their part in the victory. Some extremely able propaganda dramatized the fascist danger in terms that a humble cultivator of grapes, for example, possessing 7 hectares of land and bonds of the Government in his sock, could well understand.

The Iowa farmer has his Wall Street. The French peasant and tradesman has his *Comité des Forges*. The leaders of the People's Front left nothing unsaid that might arouse this inevitable animosity of the "little fellow." "Big Business" is just as much a sure-fire expression in France as in the United States. Accordingly, it was a great misfortune for Colonel Casimir de la Rocque, when it was revealed that one of his backers was president of the electrical trust. An especially able cartoonist forthwith portrayed the Colonel with a light-bulb protruding from his military breast.

Only second to the trust-busting complex of the Frenchman is his anti-royalism. The anti-fascists did not fail to emphasize that the Colonel's brother was secretary to the Pretender to the

French throne. Satire was enlisted and "Count Casimir" was a nickname hard to live down. "Casimir" seems as funny to a Frenchman as "Aloysius" to an American.

In truth, Colonel de la Rocque was an easy mark. He certainly proved himself no Hitler in his handling of the masses. A military man, with no little talent on the drill-ground, he had no turn for demagogy in the Hitler manner. His following was conspicuously upper-class. The student, the *fils-de-famille* type, the well-off war veteran, made up the ranks of the *Croix de Feu*. Moreover, as a leader, the Colonel was distinctly lacking. He talked audaciously of the "coming day" and of "taking power", without doing anything very much about it. When there was shooting, as in the Rue Feydeau affair, or the Limoges riots, the Colonel was too ready to disavow his rowdy comrades. All in all, he was indecisive, did not understand propaganda, did not put on a good show. Long before the election, his forces were definitely on the decline.

Can the Popular Front Endure?

But if the "menace" was disappearing, would the alliance—formed for no other reason than to meet it—endure? In spite of all those high-pressure rallies in the Place de la Bastille, in which Radicals linked armed with Communists yelling "Hang La Rocque" and "Down with Fascism," detached observers were skeptical. They claimed that the *Front Populaire* was no more than an anti-fascist militia. Let the enemy disappear, and the *Front* would dissolve; or if it did take power, the various parties in it would break up into quarreling factions. Then the fascists would really have their day.

But at this point, just as the uproar over the *Croix de Feu* was losing its edge, the *Front Populaire* changed

gears. The shrewd propagandists were equally shrewd politicians. They, too, saw the weakness. Wrangling for months (but sedulously concealing their differences behind closed doors) they arrived at a regular platform on which to wage the electoral campaign. The main planks were as follows: a public works program, a forty-hour week, nationalization of the armament industry, and reform of the Bank of France. In this last plank, the framers wrought even better than they had expected. They raised a cry that caught the fancy of the public.

On the boulevards of Paris, vendors did prosperous trade in a pamphlet exposing "The 200 Families Which Control The Bank of France." This was no unfounded ballyhoo. An oligarchy, composed of wealthy families and industrial groups (200 was a very rough figure) did possess preponderant power in the council of this central bank whose financial policies shaped the economic life of the country. Furthermore, there was much evidence that the Bank of France had forced down the throat of successive governments the unpopular policy of deflation. It was even asserted that the Bank had blackmailed Premiers into submitting to its deflationary demands by producing rungs on the gold supply.

All, of course, for the most respectable of reasons—to keep France on the gold standard. But inflationary sentiment was growing. The people felt that Flandin, with his easy credit ideas and Rooseveltian program had fallen under the attack of the "200", that Laval had cut pensions and salaries with the Bank standing over him. This was no way, they felt, to deal with a situation in which living costs were high, the worker took cuts or went on the dole, and the farmer got little for his produce. France, groaning under a depression marked by many of the

characteristics of the Hoover *dégringolade*, savagely turned against the "financial Bastille", as the symbol of their troubles. This was the great economic ground-swell which carried forward the popularity of the *Front Populaire*. The cry of the "200" took the same place in the French campaign as did the "Forgotten Man" in our 1932 campaign.

The hoarsest shouters of this slogan in the ensuing race were the Communists. This party put on a new dress to win votes; in no other way could it have made such large gains. Its posters were printed in the nationalistic red-white-blue; it sought to conciliate Catholics and elements of the *Croix de Feu*; its battle-cry instead of "Soviets Everywhere" was "A free, strong, happy France." The Communists set the note; the Socialists and Radicals carried on in much the same spirit.

The Right was completely outmaneuvered. For propaganda, it could find nothing better to exploit in its press than the situation in Spain, where a *Front Populaire* had celebrated a disorderly victory. The Left satirists did damage to this line with a skit in a humorous weekly, which represented Azaña writing to the French Premier advising him to hold the elections a week earlier because, "we haven't enough churches to burn down for the benefit of the *Matin*." Politicians of the Right sought to form, rather ineffectively, a *Front National*. The *Croix de Feu*, with more energy than the politicians, attempted some strategy by voting for Communist candidates in the primary election, hoping to scare the bourgeois into voting Right in the run-off. In this they obtained some minor successes, but in all, they were signally defeated. The *Front Populaire* parties, except in a few instances, held together remarkably well. Radicals faithfully voted for Socialists and Communists, Communists voted for Radicals and Socialists,

etc. As a result, the *Front Populaire* won a clear majority of 381 seats in the Chamber, easily enough to carry out their program.

Revolution?

Thus the first act of the drama. It was by no means revolution. Nor could the events of the first month under the Blum Government be described as revolution. The strikes were essentially wages-and-hours disputes, whatever their red trimmings. After all, the stay-in strike has been tried by quite respectable labor unions in England and America. As for the legislative program of the new Government (essentially that of the *Front Populaire* platform) it hardly looks like an overturn of capitalism. Obviously, it is a "New Deal." In some respects, (in the currency policy) it is even more cautious than the Roosevelt experiment.

What the next act will depend on the way the Government guides its bark through the shallows of mass unrest and economic depression. But principally it depends on the solidity of the

Front Populaire, which in turn rests on the questionable allegiance of the Radicals. Already the Right Wing of this party is becoming worried about wage increases and the waving of red flags. For while the petty bourgeois looks back with fervor to the old French Revolution, he is timid about a new one which will affect his property and investments. Like the Left Deputy whom Lord Cecil interrogated, he may vote Right.

The Right is now following a new and better tactic, that of detaching the radicals from the *Front Populaire*. If it meets with success, trouble looms. Break-up of the *Front Populaire* may mean serious disorders, perhaps civil war—and then either fascism, or violent overthrow of capitalism.

Meanwhile, there is no revolution in France. The victory of the *Front Populaire* may or may not be a prelude, a taking of the Bastille preparatory, to a bigger show. It certainly does not constitute another French revolution, nor the smashing of the capitalist *ancien régime*.

France: Friends and Obligations

FRENCH thrift before the war was best described by Alfred Neymark's words, "France is a creditor everywhere and nowhere a debtor." The war changed this and now France is a debtor nation because its own debtors went bankrupt. But French thrift is now experiencing a rebirth under different forms. Today's hoarding in France creates a situation that can become dangerous.

—*l'Épargne en France (1914-34)* by Jean Leseure, Professor at the Sorbonne Law School, Paris.

My stand in favor of settling our debt with the United States has not changed since 1932, the year of disgrace, when I advocated a settlement. At that time, the United States appeared to be getting closer to us and the League, in favor of a common action for peace. I did not stay silent when France remained insensible to the generous and fraternal appeal of President Roosevelt, who showed himself in a conciliatory mood. The peace of the world suffered as a result. Will Mr. Léon Blum dissipate the misunderstanding?

—Edouard Herriot in *l'Information*, Paris.

France counts beyond the Atlantic on the cordial sentiments of the American democracy, a natural friend of free nations.

—From a speech by French Foreign Minister Delbos, June 23, 1936.

LEON BLUM

—in whose hands, for the moment, rest the destinies of France, perhaps the peace of Europe—By Johannes Steel

WHEN Leon Blum became Premier of France, the German Foreign Office issued a statement to the effect that it "looked without prejudice upon the new French Government." M. Blum's racial origin, and Herr Hitler's racial policies, considered, the statement might be said to go further than its wording. Even Hitler seems to have realized that M. Blum not only is the first Jew to become Premier of France, but that he may yet prove to be the greatest statesman France has produced since the French Revolution.

For seventeen years Leon Blum bided his time. When finally on June 6, 1936, after two decades of waiting, he accepted office, he also took power. One million men and women were out on strike the day he moved into the Hotel Matignon, official residence of France's Premiers. In a twelve-hour conference he delivered what no other French politician before succeeded in doing. He not only brought the leaders of the French trade unions and strikers onto the same table as the representatives of the most conservative and reactionary industrialists, but he refused to let either party go home until they had reached an agreement.

He said it was the "Will of Parliament," "the will of the elected representatives of the French people, that there should be industrial peace in France."

Thus he proclaimed himself ruler of France by virtue of the demos. And today he might be called the first

Democratic dictator in the world.

Blum, the complete antithesis of all other men in power, Blum the intellectual, the man who was always the thinker, the philosopher, acted more surely and swiftly than even the most autocratic ruler or any of his predecessors in the life of the Third Republic. His action has already become the symbol of a regenerated democracy. Blum vindicated democracy in Europe by acting fast and with precision on behalf of that democracy. It might well be that the course of European history has been changed by a man who, six months ago, was still an almost intangible enigma, and who, almost overnight, became a man of destiny—a man of destiny not because he wanted to be one and arrogated himself the role of savior, like men of the Hitler-, Mussolini-, Starhemberg-, political-adventurer type, but because he finally acceded, to the insistent demands of the majority of the French people.

Leon Blum is difficult to write about. He dresses like a dandy and collects modern art. Like Cardinal Richelieu and Anatole France, he adores cats. He is too cultured to crave popularity, too honest to be a demagogue, and too canny to be a doctrinaire.

When I called last November at No. 25 Quai Bourbon, historic Isle St. Louis, overlooking the Seine, I did not think that this man would ever accept office. He had so much else to live for.

After passing the scrutiny of the two

agents de police stationed before his door, I was ushered into an anteroom whose walls were lined with books and whose mosaic floor has sagged in the middle during a century of use.

A young woman asked my business, returned after a few minutes and said: "Please do not keep M. Blum for long; his wife is ill and he wants to be with her."

Soon a man appeared whose quick and nervous gait belied his 64 years, and we sat down in a surrounding that was more the workroom of an art collector and litterateur of the *fin de siècle* than of the future Prime Minister of the French Republic.

Long supple fingers on esthetic hands subtly underlined points made in the conversation, with gestures strikingly like Toscanini conducting. It was "conversation" almost a monologue, during which this writer listened spellbound to well-rounded and thought-out sentences in which one could almost hear the commas and semicolons.

I was talking to the editor of the *Populaire* who just had answered Pierre Laval, then Premier of France, upon the latter's attempts to muzzle the press. He had done so in a fashion that shook even the stolid countenance of the "Matignon d'Auvergne" horsetrader from the Auvergne country. Laval, by an emergency decree, had passed some two hundred and fifty laws, among which he slipped in one which made it prohibitive, under various penalties, to insult the chiefs of foreign governments. Next day there was an article signed by Blum in his *Populaire* which said among other things that he, Blum, regretted this law which made it impossible for him to continue to call Mussolini the murderer of Matteotti without incurring the danger of going to jail.

For seventeen years now, Blum's biting sarcasm has been the near-terror of every French Premier with whose

policy Leon Blum did not agree. Whenever his gaunt figure appeared on the rostrum to wind up a debate, the betting began in the corridors of the chamber whether the respective Government would survive the day.

And yet this man is no orator. He nervously twists his handkerchief in his hands and keeps on adjusting an ever-moving old-fashioned pincenez on his long wide-nostriled nose. Leon Blum talks like an academician, or a professor of mathematics, marshaling facts, and facts only. This is the reason why everybody, friend and foe alike, listens to Blum and respects him.

In May 1929, when he returned after a short absence from the Chamber to his old seat, Poincaré, his most formidable enemy and the frequent victim of his slashing attacks, interrupted a speech to remark to him: "You are very welcome here, Monsieur. We have need of your light and counsel. It is well for France that men like you should sit in the Chamber."

Blum entered the Chamber in 1919 after a notable literary career as editor of the magazine called *The Shell*, and was the first to print the abstract poems of Valéry, who is now among the immortals. He published a volume of imaginary *Conversations Between Goethe and Eckermann*.

The Dreyfus trial, however, brought Blum out of his literary and esthetic ivory tower. He fell under the spell of Jean Leon Jaurès, whose mantle he was to inherit later, and began to write for *l'Humanité*.

In 1914 he became Under Secretary to the Minister of Public Works. By 1919 he was boss of the Socialist Party, dictated its platform and was Deputy in the Chamber. Since that day he never drank a glass of wine and has hardly eaten much else than noodles and white bread.

In 1914, just a few weeks before the

outbreak of the war, Maurras, who later became the editor of the *Royalist L'Action Française*, kept on demanding that twelve bullets should be shot into Jaurès who, with all his might, tried to prevent the holocaust. A short time later Jaurès was assassinated by a man whose name, strangely enough, was Villain. Maurras wrote on April, 1935, in *L'Action Française*, "Let us shoot Blum, but from behind."

On February 13, Blum was riding back from the Chamber in the car of his friend Monnet when two hundred Camelots du Roi wrecked the machine and nearly beat him and his wife to death. Charles Maurras who was indicted the following day for incitement

to murder, promptly retorted, "I am sorry we failed and humiliated at being considered nothing more than an accomplice in this affair."

There is beautiful irony in the fact that Leon Blum, who was born of Alsatian stock—his father became a millionaire trading in silk—should be ruler of the Third Republic at the same time that Adolf Hitler is Chancellor of the Third Reich.

For Blum was probably the first man to speak against the Treaty of Versailles and call it an act of sheer madness and injustice, and for ten years, almost until the very day that Hitler assumed power, he was Germany's greatest champion for arms equality in France.



© Pictures, Inc.

"Everyone***listen to Blum, and respects him." He warms up before the "mike."

chinese puzzle....by h. r. ekins

from japan come more pieces for the far eastern
jig-saw. mr. ekins starts you toward the solution.

BEHIND the Orient's latest crisis, involving the tramp of Japanese troops in North China and the perennial struggle between the Nanking and Canton Governments, lies a major aim of Japanese foreign policy. It calls for the partition of China.

A China divided against itself is not enough. The Republic has been split into conflicting groups, armies, and governments since the Imperial Dynasty was toppled from the Dragon Throne in 1911. But it has remained too unwieldy for the Japanese to handle. Now their patience appears to have been exhausted and they have precipitated a show-down which may again change the map of Old Cathay and reshuffle the personages who have played the leading rôles on the Chinese scene since the morning of September 18, 1931, when the Japanese garrison at Mukden moved to an occupation which resulted in the transformation of the five northeastern provinces of Manchuria into the Empire of Manchoukuo.

The issues are not as confused as they seem in the welter of news dispatches reporting unfamiliar names of places and men and petty incidents which nowhere but in China could cause the movements of whole armies and fleets and the complete disruption of social, economic, and political life in vast areas. Japan has despaired of a united China with which she could be on friendly terms so as to hasten her ambition for a Far Eastern hege-

mony with Tokyo as the center of direction and control.

The Japanese want Chinese recognition of the admittedly puppet state over which the former Mr. Henry Pu Yi, now the Emperor Kang Teh, rules nominally from Changchun, capital of Manchoukuo. With such recognition, European and American resistance to recognition of Japan's conquest on the Asiatic mainland might be broken. The Japanese want economic preference in the Chinese market. They wish to increase their investments and sales, already very heavy, and insure unquestioned control over an area in which some day it may be necessary to base troops for a military struggle with the Soviet Union. The main obstacle to the Japanese program has been the unwillingness of any powerful Chinese leader, or group, to assume responsibility for taking a realistic view of Sino-Japanese relations.

Japanese bayonets must be used to protect Japanese trade. Only by force of arms have the Japanese had their way in China since they launched their ambitious adventure in Manchuria. Their program has been halted by Chinese appeals to world sentiment, collectively through the League of Nations, and to the individual governments of countries enjoying large stakes in the Chinese market and its vast potentialities. It has been delayed by that faction in the Japanese Army which persists in taunting the Soviet

Union into a war to settle the manifold disputes between Tokyo and Moscow.

The Japanese blame most of their troubles in China on the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party. They are anxious to smash the Kuomintang, which has prevented any real partition of China, which has fostered anti-Japanese economic boycotts, and which has encouraged what resistance there has been to the Japanese.

Both Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's recognized Central Government at Nanking and the southwestern political council at Canton, supported by the bayonets of Generals Chen Chitang, Li Tsung-jen, and Pai Tsung-hsi, pretend to be depositories of the hope for China's salvation as left by Sun Yat-Sen, father of the Revolution.

Accordingly, at a time when the stage is set for breaking off North China from the remainder of the country, what better plan could there be than to foment sufficient trouble between Canton and Nanking to plunge the country into civil war?

That would give Japan time to complete arrangements and negotiations for an autonomous Chinese state north of the Yellow River and perhaps even give time for a settlement of the Japanese argument as to whether North China should be added to Manchoukuo, making it possible to restore Emperor Kang Teh to the Dragon Throne of his fathers under the glittering yellow tiles roofing the Forbidden City in Peiping.

It would keep the best Chinese armies occupied in internecine strife far from the scene of events in the shadow of the Great Wall. It might provide a pretext for intervention in both South China and the Yangtze Valley, at the great risk, however, of giving the badly battered Chinese Soviet Republic a new lease on life.

Chiang Kai-shek himself has never offered armed resistance to the Japanese program on the mainland. When Manchuria was being taken in 1931 and when Shanghai was battered by Japanese guns in 1932, the flower of his armies was engaged in an effective campaign against the Reds in Kiangsi Province. He knew he was in no position to fight a foreign invader. His own control depended on antagonizing the Japanese as little as possible and on refusing to recognize the fruit of their conquest.

And that is what angered the Japanese. Nanking's passive resistance prevented *de jure* recognition of their creation of a new state outside the Great Wall. It frustrated their plans for the economic exploitation of North China and effective penetration to the plains of Mongolia, from which they may have to strike at Red Russia in the far distant marches of the Lake Baikal area.

With each passing year Chiang Kai-shek has increased the size, strength, equipment, and efficiency of his army, the greatest one-man-controlled force in China. Japanese North China activities of 1936 found the Generalissimo stiffening in his refusal to play ball with the Imperialists of the Island Empire. Japanese diplomats at Nanking were making no headway. Manchoukuo remained unrecognized. The Old Chinese anti-Japanese boycotts were revived upon renewal of Japanese military activity in North China. After a stormy decade of domination Chiang was increasing his power. Yearly, often monthly, predictions that he could not last much longer rebounded in ridicule on the prophets. The communist menace was subsiding. Great Britain and the United States were helping to solve Nanking's financial problems. Chiang would have to have an internal crisis which would cost him money and men and take his troops as far away from

the banks of the Yellow River as possible.

Always at hand were his old enemies in Canton. And they were thorns in the sides of the Japanese. Safe in the southwest, the Cradle of the Republic and modern Chinese Nationalism, they had kept anti-Japanese sentiment in China alive. They had inspired the costly boycotts and led the wails for sympathy and help which prompted Occidental powers to list Japan as the Bad Boy in the Family of Nations.

A revival of civil war between Nanking and Canton would achieve a manifold purpose: It would keep the Government recognized by the Powers from attempting to frustrate the Japanese program in North China; it would discredit China abroad as a nation unable to stand united even in the face of foreign aggression; it would dissipate China's improving military effectiveness; it might conceivably eliminate Chinese leaders whom the Japanese had found recalcitrant; and it might accelerate the partition of China into a group of individual and avowedly autonomous governments with which the Japanese could treat separately and perhaps negotiate agreements which would last and which could be proclaimed to the Chinese people and the world.

The latest hostilities between the Central Government and southwestern forces began with a Cantonese movement to resist Japanese aggression in the north. It was transformed speedily into a campaign to overthrow Generalissimo Chiang. It revived all the old hatreds and bitterness between the Nanking and Canton wings of the Kuomintang. To what extent it was inspired by the Japanese is a secret only to be guessed at.

Chiang opposed the Cantonese demand to permit free northward passage of southwestern troops, not as an agent acting to further the Japanese desires,

but in accordance with his consistent, courageous program for a united China. He argued that diplomatic relations with Tokyo, war against the Japanese, and the protection of endangered territory were matters for which the Central Government was responsible. He pleaded that no single province or coalition of provinces should act independently of the central power.

His pleas for internal peace were ignored by the Kwangsi and Kwangtung Province Overlords. Chen Chintang, Li Tsung-jen, and Pai Tsung-hsi mobilized their armies and the Kwangsi forces, at least, invaded Hunan Province, an area under Nanking's jurisdiction. Canton forces were rushed northward to the borders of Fukien, also a Province within the scope of what influence Nanking exerted outside the Yangtze valley. There was nothing for Chiang to do but to move his troops southward, the while negotiating for another patch-work settlement.

By that time the southwestern warlords were in so deep that the Kwangtung and Kwangsi chieftains found their positions of control and virtual independence jeopardized. Regardless of the extent to which the Japanese were responsible for inspiring the struggle, the people of the southwest, the masses, were sincere in their anti-Japanese sentiment. They believed the time had come to save China.

The farmers carrying hoes and the coolies who dropped the shafts of their rickshas, even the common soldiers in the private Kwangsi-Kwangtung armies, were motivated by patriotism when they demonstrated for war with Japan. The motives of the men in control were another matter.

But they had succeeded in inflaming their followers against both the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek. They had allowed a situation to materialize from which there could be no withdrawal

without submission to Nanking or acknowledgment to their people that they had fired a dud. Things looked fine for the Japanese. China again was in turmoil. The country's power was being consumed in internal strife. The area north of the Yellow River was left to the mercies, or otherwise, of the Japanese, conniving to break it off from the remainder of the country, and so make Japanese domination over it assured, if not unchallenged.

It would be folly to forecast the outcome so far as the fate of territories and the fortunes of armies in battle are concerned. But unless rescued by obvious Japanese intervention, the south-western warlords appear doomed. No competent observer of the Chinese scene could believe other than that Chiang Kai-shek will emerge stronger than ever from the present imbroglio unless the Japanese actually take the field against him. It may even be that he will extend his control to the Provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, areas that never have been garrisoned by northern troops in the history of Republican China. Smashing of the Kuomintang seems doubtful. Its tenets and form have taken a deep hold on Chinese intellectual and political life. The legends, if not the facts, of Sun Yat-Sen's doctrines are enshrined in the hearts of many Chinese too proud to bow in spirit, at any rate, before domination by force.

That leaves the question of North China's fate and Japan's abiding desire for Chinese recognition of her accomplished acts and cooperation in furthering and extending them.

If internal strife so weakens China that continued passive resistance remains impossible, there may be a new deal in Oriental diplomacy, with consequent ratification of Manchoukuo's

status and clarification of North China's situation.

There would appear little doubt that the Provinces of Hopei and Chahar will become autonomous in fact and under absolute, unquestioned Japanese control, with the eventual possibility that they will be merged with Manchoukuo. Of itself, that would continue the process of partitioning China, not among Occidental powers, but among the Chinese themselves—and, of course, the Japanese.

Except for those who have an axe to grind, it may be said that North China is no more sympathetic to the Japanese program than South China.

But North China resistance is at a low ebb. Since 1933 when the Japanese advanced south of the Great Wall after conquering Jehol Province and adding it to Manchoukuo, Hopei and Chahar have been under Japanese domination. The Chinese flag has continued to fly over Government offices, but Japanese garrison forces have operated without challenge and Japanese officials have dictated policies. Japanese goods have blanketed North China in disregard of the attempts of the Chinese Maritime Customs to collect tariffs.

Many of the soldiers remaining in North China have faced Japanese guns, or have seen the mighty Japanese military machine on parade. They have no will to die in a lost cause. They lack equipment and money. Above all, they lack a leader for battle.

Japanese troops are astride every North China railway and highway. Every strategically and tactically important town in Hopei Province has its quota of brown-clad, grimly determined Nipponese troops. They are ready to write a new chapter in the major Japanese aim for the partition of tortured China.

The HOLY LAND LOOKS WEST

BY DAVID GOLDBERG

A Westernized people
seeks to reclaim the East
—and a Western civili-
zation rises on ancient
Palestine.

TO SPEAK of Palestine with complete detachedness is humanly impossible, not alone because of the gripping drama which this time is being staged there, but also because, throughout history, the rôle which Palestine has played in the experience of the human race has been essentially a subjective one. The Promised Land of the Jew, the birthplace of the religions of both Christian and Moslem, and the Holy Land of all, it never was regarded by people as just another politico-geographical fact, as Syria and Egypt, for example. Indeed, so many purely emotional stakes have been driven into the enigmatic soil of Palestine, and so many hopes pinned on them, that to lift it out of the realm of emotion for any reason whatsoever would be stripping it of its greatest significance to the human race.

I shall not, therefore, deliberately deaden the living, throbbing facts of Palestine for the sake of attaining a feigned objectivity. But neither will I treat them apocryphally or theologically, in the unfortunate manner of many a writer on the subject. My endeavor will be to present the facts of present-day Palestine *realistically*, that is, as part of the environment which produced them, and not *independent* of it. That environment is even today mostly

halo; yet, it is possible to penetrate it and get at the reality of the facts it enshrouds.



By "present-day" Palestine I mean the era which dawned upon the Holy Land in 1896, when Dr. Theodore Herzl first published his *The Jews' State*. During the forty years which followed, the history of Palestine has hinged primarily on two pivots: the Zionist Manifesto in July, 1897, and the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917. The Manifesto declared Zionism to aim "*at the establishing for the Jewish people of a publicly and legally secured home in Palestine*," while the Balfour Declaration announced that "*His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people*."

Prior to the Zionist Manifesto, such attempts at colonizing Palestine as were made by Jews bore a sporadic character and were stimulated largely by the philanthropic largess of the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Individual Jews went to the Holy Land on *pilgrimage*—mainly to die there, and not to live. As late as 1920, before the Balfour Declaration had time to take effect, the Jewish population of Palestine did not exceed 80,000—the

majority aged people subsisting on the generosity of their coreligionists abroad. In no sense were they material for the upbuilding of the national homeland.

Zionism, however, changed all that by imbuing a fair portion of the Jewish people with the ideal of national self-emancipation and restoration, holding out Palestine as the sole solution to the vexing Jewish problem in the *Diaspora*. If Zionists did not actually precipitate a mass immigration of Jews to Palestine, they at least created an ideological predilection for it. The Balfour Declaration, coming, as it did after twenty years of Zionist propaganda, naturally enhanced that predilection, in so far as, within certain limits, it rendered Jewish mass immigration to Palestine an actual political possibility.

For the purpose of this narrative, it is not necessary to argue that the restoration ideal alone would not have brought so many Jews to Palestine in so short a time; that more potent factors were responsible for it—for example, the Ukrainian pogroms during the Petlura regime, the economic debacle in Poland, and the advent of Nazi-ism in Germany. Suffice to say that all these terrible misfortunes were harnessed to the Zionist ideal, with the result that a development was set afoot which, for the sheer romance of achievement, is without a parallel in modern history.

Westernization

Measured by our own Western standards, the transformation which Palestine underwent at the hands of the Jews since the Balfour Declaration is truly phenomenal. Mandated Palestine is only 10,000 square miles in area, two thirds being rock and sand, while most of its arable portion (some 2,500,000 acres) stood sadly in need of

amelioration. The air was saturated with pestilence, the water, such as was to be had, was polluted, and the cities reeked of filth; there was not a semblance of civic sanitation anywhere in Palestine, save in a German or Jewish settlement here and there. By all the tokens of civilization, Palestine was one of the most forbidding countries on earth.

Present-day Palestine, on the other hand, is, on the whole, a Western country in every essential respect, and one must go back to the Arab village or to the native quarters of the cities to discover the Palestine that was—and even there he will find the inroads of change. Palestinian homes today are equipped with every modern convenience known in the United States, including automatic heating and refrigeration, gas and electricity, bath and shower, telephone and radio. The cities are clean and are civically cared for, with parks, playgrounds, ample modern schools, libraries, open forums and theaters. The visitor will find Palestinian hotels are more than commodious; they are luxurious, some even pretentiously so. And you travel nowadays in Palestine by auto over good highways; not, as in the past, on the proverbial donkey over broken roads. And your eyes no longer tire of the dismal barrenness round about, for the vista now is of a landscape studded with orange groves and shade trees, and of alternate patches of wheat and barley and truck gardens. In the distant perspective, too, you behold industrial plants here and there—busy bee-hives, the like of which Palestine hadn't seen in all the centuries of its lethargic history. Everywhere the spectacle is the same: the West encroaching upon the East, to bestir and ultimately dislodge it.

Perhaps, the tempo of Palestinian development is best typified by the city of Tel-Aviv, of which Jews are very



© United Palestine Appeal

"A city rose on what was once unfathomed sand . . ." Tel-Aviv today.

fond because it is their solid, undisputed achievement in modern Palestine; they built it with their own hands, as it were, from ground up; and a city rose on what was once unfathomed sand.

I have seen Tel-Aviv grow from a population of 30,000 in 1926, to a population of 50,000 in 1931, and to 80,000 in 1934, when I visited the Holy Land for the third time. Today Tel-Aviv is said to harbor 150,000 souls, all Jews. It is by far the largest city of refuge for the Jews of Germany and Poland, and more recently for the victims of the latest Arab insurrection.

Jerusalem and Haifa, too, have expanded enormously during the past fifteen years, albeit not as spectacularly as Tel-Aviv, for in those two cities there is an entrenched Arab element. Withal, Arab Haifa is slowly but surely losing its identity under the in-

fluence of the British and the Jews. So, too, is Jerusalem, save for the walled-in part of the city, which, being the shrine of the three religions, is maintained intact.

The prospect of the Holy Land being westernized by Jews is a fascinating paradox. For the process is being carried on, not by a people of Western nativity, but by Jews—orientals who occidentalized perforce of two thousand years of exile. According to Zionist doctrine, the Jews are now returning to Palestine to re-establish their nationhood and recapture the trend they lost while in exile. This, however, logically would call, not for the westernization of Palestine, but for the restoration of its pristine beginnings, in order to make Jewish reorientation possible.

But what do we see? In effect, the Jew in Palestine continues the trend he

acquired in exile and makes no serious effort to recapture the old one. He has become a Westerner. And all the patterns he acquired in the *Diaspora* he now introduces in his so-called Homeland. The Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus is in itself a paradox, in the face of the Holy Temple which is still in ruins and has nothing but a remnant of a Wailing Wall to mark its place. For a university, surely, is an epitome of Western culture; it is not of the East.

Industry

Recent figures made public by the Jewish Agency for Palestine reveal that some 46,000 Jews today derive their livelihood from agriculture, 97,000 from industry, 42,000 from building activities, 66,000 from trade, and 41,000 from the professions. All told, there are about 400,000 Jews domiciled this day in the Holy Land.

Further statistics by the same agency reveal that while Jewish investment in agriculture to the end of 1935 exceeded \$100,000,000, the investments in home and industrial construction for the past 4 years alone exceeded \$135,000,000, exclusive of commercial investments.

Of that impressive sum, some \$10,000,000 was spent abroad on machine equipment, so that Palestine might produce its own machine-made goods and bring about a more favorable balance of trade. The goal is to make Palestine industrially self-sufficient and technically independent. To show to what extent this has already been achieved, I might quote from a late issue of the *Palestine Review*, published in Jerusalem:

"What does Palestine, in actual fact, produce to-day? It is perhaps easier to give a list of what is not produced. There would be no exaggeration in saying that one may furnish one's house, from cellar to attic, with Palestine-

made furniture, curtains, kitchen utensils, bath, crockery, cutlery, carpets, mirrors, and even radio and refrigerator. It is even possible to build almost exclusively of local products, down to the glass-panes of the windows. It would certainly involve no sacrifice to eat, and also to wear, nothing but home products . . ."

The record of electrical energy consumption in Palestine during the past four years is further enlightening. Figures supplied by the Ruthenberg Electrical Plant, which furnishes energy to the whole of Palestine with the exception of Jerusalem (served by a British concession) reveal that the number of kilowatt hours consumed by industry has jumped from 4,100,000 in 1932 to 21,000,000 in 1935. For the same period, the energy consumed for domestic use mounted from 7,500,000 in 1932 to 29,000,000 in 1935. All this is exclusive of Jerusalem, whose population is supplied with electricity from another source.

Financing An Ideal

To be obliged to purchase land from unwilling sellers and then spend some more for amelioration; to clear up waste places, drain polluted waters and tap the bowels of the earth for a new clean supply; to build and project new settlements by the hundreds, construct highways, develop industries, and create machinery for production and distribution—all this, as well as the creation and maintenance of the cultural life of the community obviously required immense, almost unlimited funds, such as you might expect only a government with taxing power to command. But what government ever taxed the Jewish people for their expenditures in Palestine?

No government ever levied a Palestine tax upon the Jewish people—even the moral government of the



© United Palestine Appeal

"* * * to clear up waste places * * * construct highways, develop industries . . ."

World Zionist Organization. True, the two fiscal Zionist agencies, the *Keren Kayemet* (National Fund) and the *Keren Hayesod* (Foundation Fund), steadily solicited money from the Jews; but what they collected, particularly during the past five years of depression, barely sufficed to finance labor immigration, subsidize cultural enterprises, and to budget the Jewish Agency and subsidiary administrative bodies. Actually, where did the money come from?

Some, of course, come from capitalists in other lands who saw in the project an opportunity for profitable land and building speculation. But mainly the money was brought in by the immigrants themselves, a good number of whom (especially of late) belonged to the so-called "capitalist category", meaning that they possessed on entry the sum of \$5,000 or more.

According to Jewish Agency figures,

of the 4,086 immigrants who entered Palestine in November, 1935, more than one thousand, or nearly 26%, were able to produce at least that amount; many had much more available.

The true perspective for the last few years, then, is that of an endless stream of troubled, capable human beings, many with money, pouring into Palestine, creating demands, and furnishing the means of supplying them—thus without end. And it is not to be wondered at that, in the middle of the world-wide depression, Palestine should have experienced an unparalleled prosperity—nay, a veritable boom. For it was the depression elsewhere which, in the last analysis, precipitated the exodus of Jews from the fascist-ridden countries and brought them, might and main, to the Holy Land. Were it not for the repercussions of the Italo-Ethiopian war and the present Arab insurrection, the boom might

have continued on and on. But that is another story.

Problems Within

It is said of Palestine that, climatically and topographically, it is a replica of the entire globe. Borrowing that simile to describe the complexion of Palestine's Jewish community, we could say with even greater truth that it is a replica of all the Jewish communities in the world. Those who speak of Jewish solidarity as of a fact should visit Palestine and disabuse their minds once and for all. There, as elsewhere, Jews unite in the face of untoward common danger only. Otherwise, they remain hopelessly divided on almost every question, be it religious, political, cultural, what-not.

In Palestine there is the inevitable cleavage between capital and labor, of course—and there are all the parties from right to left with which we are familiar in our own democracy. There, also, are the usual religious and cultural differences. But in Palestine these differences are highly accentuated by factors unknown in the *Diaspora*—namely, the close physical proximity of the contending groups, and the universal proneness to inject nationalistic principle into every dispute, no matter how trivial.

In the great, wide *Diaspora* Jews are not obliged to step on each other's corns, so to speak, even if they do disagree. The dialect of the Polish Jew, for example, is, after all, no issue of personal concern to the Russian or German or American Jew. Each is free to choose the milieu which suits him best; there is plenty of room in the *Diaspora* for segregation.

But there is no such room in Palestine, which, if it were a level country, could be traversed by auto in less than two hours across its length and in less than one hour across its width.

Again, in the *Diaspora*, Jewish con-

sciousness is more of an abstraction than a tangible feeling; it is more argued than consciously lived, and it is hardly to be discovered in actual daily pursuit. The question of social-economic order, for example, is not decided in the *Diaspora* by Jewish consciousness, nor is the question of acquiring property, or disposing of it, nor even the question of language or of dress.

It is different in Palestine, where every move a Jew makes is supposed to be inspired by the redemption motive. The acquisition of real estate by a Jew, the building of a house, and the launching of an industry, even for private gain, is deemed a Jewish achievement, insofar as it adds to the sum-total of Jewish acquisition in Palestine. And certainly, from the nationalistic standpoint, the language of the individual Jew matters, his dress matters, and even the architecture of his private home matters. Shall the language of Jewish Palestine be English, German, Yiddish, or Hebrew? One hears all. Shall the garb be Polish, or Western European? You see both. And shall the prevailing architecture be Spanish, Gothic, Byzantine, or British Colonial? It all depends on whom you ask about it.

Again, the religious question is certainly important enough from the nationalistic point-of-view, for it is illogical that a people returning to their ancient land should leave their ancient religion behind. Which religion, then, shall it be—the Orthodox, the Reform, or the Conservative? More than mere names are involved in this question: the practices are different, the philosophies are different, commonly the racial types they represent are different.

Much the same situation exists in the political field. Dominating the political arena of Jewish Palestine today is the *Histadrut* (Jewish Federation of Labor), composed of the right- and left-wing socialists of the moderate school.

They are flanked on each side by the General (bourgeois) Zionists, and together they form the center. At the extreme right of the *Histadrut* are the Revisionists, the most uncompromising wing in Zionism, often termed fascist, while at the extreme left are the communists. Similarly, the religious front of Jewish Palestine is made up of the *Mizrachi* and other more or less orthodox groups, forming the center, with the ultra-orthodox (*Aggudah*) to the right, and the non-religious nationalists (*Hofshim*) to the left.

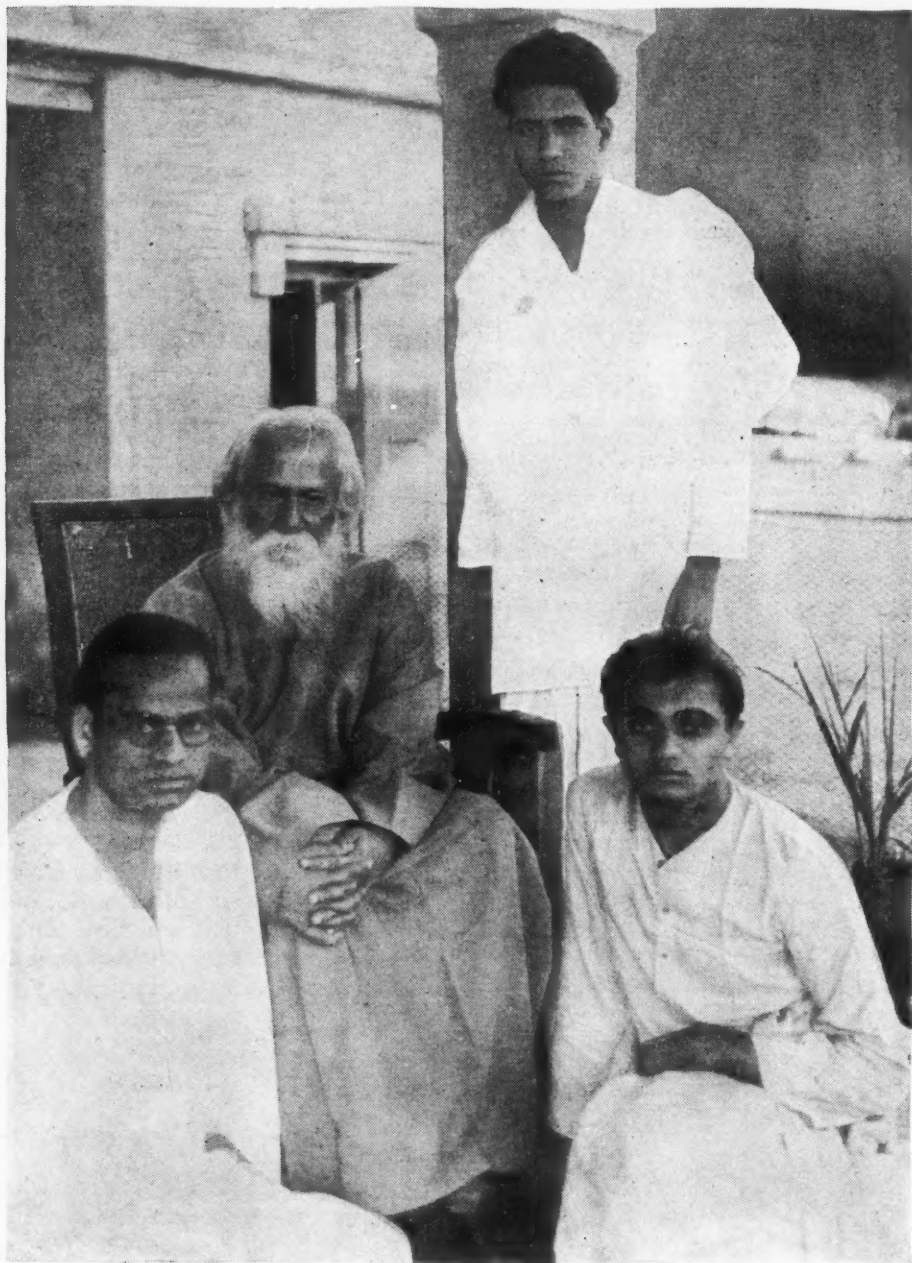
Until recently the language of Jewish Palestine was undisputably Hebrew. However, since Jews began coming to Palestine by the thousand each month, they began to threaten the supremacy of Hebrew with the languages of their former milieu, mostly Yiddish, but also German, Polish, and English. This means that the battlefield has since been extended to include the language, and there is a society in Palestine, called *Maginei Hasafah* (Defenders of the Tongue), which carries on the battle. Consider these things, and you have a picture, not of a single Jewish national group, but of a whole league of Jewish nations, as it were. It has occurred to me then, as it must have occurred to many, that it will take some terrific pressure to hammer all these sharply differentiated Jewish types into a single national unity. And even that terrific

pressure, I believe, will not accomplish it in Palestine if perennially the various groups are supported by fresh arrivals from the different environments.

But perhaps what the Jewish community in Palestine lacks as yet in the inner power of cohesion is made up from without by the pressure of Arab hostility against the entire project of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. However reluctantly, I must conclude my skeleton picture of the Holy Land by recording still another investment the Jews have made in it, not of money and energy and acumen, but of blood.

Tabulated chronologically, that investment amounted in 1920 to 15 killed and 110 wounded; in 1921, to 47 killed; in 1929, to 132 killed and 198 wounded; and during the present insurrection—who is to tell?

What will be the eventual fruits of this type of investment, I hesitate to say. What all along was believed to have been merely the result of artificially fanned jealousies which the British tolerated, if not encouraged, for their own imperialistic reasons, has now crystallized into an open revolt against the British themselves, which permits the Arab to hit the Jew both ways, as a national rival to himself and as a ward of the hated British. All sorts of possibilities lurk behind such a situation; but I can predict none.



STUDY IN WHITE: Lofty thought, white robes, white background—and the white-bearded prophet of India, Tagore. The setting almost tells the story of the India Tagore has set to music. The author of the accompanying article is seated at the right.

TAGORE: *prophet of the East*

BY KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, who has welded an exquisite link between the cultures of the East and the West, recently celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. His legion of admirers from every part of the world needed only that excuse to turn his quiet forest school near Calcutta into a maelstrom of festivity. Both hemispheres bowed to the poet-prophet who, for three quarters of a century, has denied with his silvery voice the famous lament of the poet of the West that "never the twain shall meet."

In its beauty of simplicity, but mainly in its august maturity, Tagore has revealed the soul of the East. He has done it in lyrics. He has set it to music. He has put its elusive essence into drama.

But obviously Tagore's reputation for giving the lie to Kipling's complacent couplet would not be quite so well established if the Hindu poet had been satisfied with merely drawing the curtains to show the true East to a world audience. Great as this service was, he saw fit to supplement it by taking to the East the message of the West. He studied in Europe, traveled extensively over its frontiers, and visited the United States.

When he returned home, he gave added emphasis to certain Western values, and assimilated into his teaching

what he called the West's "strength of reality, which knows how to clear the path toward a definite end of practical good." It was soon apparent that Tagore's admiration for such a path was to be realized by very practical ends. In 1922 he established, with the help of Mr. L. K. Almhirst, a graduate of the Agricultural School at Cornell, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Shriniketan, very near his academic center of Shantiniketan. Shantiniketan and Shriniketan are today the two great wings of what is known as Visva-Bharati, the international university.

Tagore's synthesis of the culture of East and West is one strong cable in the spiritual bridge Tagore has raised between the two hemispheres. His poetic endeavors at interpretation make another. In both, he is a pioneer. And in 1913 the world recognized his services by awarding him the Nobel Prize in literature.



To Indians, however, Tagore is above all the embodiment of unity between the ancient Aryavarta (the land of the Aryans) and Hindustan of today. His poetry runs the gamut of India's heritage. From the seers who sang the *Vedas* in the third millennium before Christ down to present-day Gandhi, Tagore is a synthetic reflection of them

all. The philosophers who wrote the *Upanishads* in 500 B.C. came to life again under his magic fingers. Buddha's teaching of *Maitri*, bond of love, took on new importance in Tagore's *Religion of Man*. Sages like Kabira and Nanak, who glorified mysticism in the Middle Ages; Emperor Akbar who Indianized Islam in the 16th century; and the *Baools*, devotee-poets who until recently sang on the banks of the Ganges in Bengal—all these voices of the past form a part of Tagore's lyric chorus. As a result, the poet has earned a place in the broken line of India's *Gurus*.

Hundreds of years ago, the *Gurus*, master teachers, were the guardians of Hindu culture. They kept Indian life in a constant flow by performing a dual task. In the first place, they interpreted old philosophies by writing *Bhasyas*, or treatises, in the terms of their times. Secondly they readjusted, through personal example and by teachings, the Hindu view of life to the new environment and conditions around them. In the twentieth century, Tagore has emulated them in both respects. Save for his interpretation of his country's heritage in the most modern linguistic forms and thought-images, India today might have been bereft of her traditional spiritualism. Save for his synthesis of the old idealism and the modern realism, India, like Japan, might have become today a lifeless imitation of the West.

Tagore was born in 1861, which was just about the time that the onslaught of Western culture, introduced by the British bureaucrats, began to disintegrate the settled life of Indian people. Born in one of the wealthiest and most cultured families, he himself was subject to a conflict of ideas. On the one hand, he heard as a boy the Upanishadic discourses of his father, Devendranath Tagore, whom his countrymen regarded as a *Maharshi*, spiritual leader. On the

other hand, he associated with his cousin, brothers, and sisters, who professed the agnosticism of Mill and Bentham.

When young Rabindranath reached manhood and began to look around him, he soon realized that the denationalizing and demoralizing influence of the ruling race was sweeping over the peninsula. Parrotry of the mechanistic ideas of the West had replaced original thought in the minds of the leaders of public opinion. The idealistic view of life was held as outmoded.

Tagore saw that a well-balanced combination of those two intangibilities, Eastern idealism and Western realism, was the solution of the problem. But he also knew that unity between the two outlooks could not be effected as long as the master-and-slave feeling existed. Consequently Tagore set out to make India proud of her heritage. His poems became pregnant with traditional thought and imagery. His plays stultified the buffooneries of the imitators of the ruling class. In his lectures he expounded the wisdom of Hindu scriptures. On all sides, he essayed to reinstate India's past glory.

The exquisite beauty of Rabindranath's prose and verse, and the profound philosophy underlying all his writings, caught the imagination of the people. As a result, there dawned what may be described as the Tagore-age in India's literature. For the last forty years, Tagore's has been the most decisive influence, not only in the literature of his own province of Bengal, but throughout central and northern India. Literature as different as that in the Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, and Urdu languages developed the lyric style of Tagore—so much so that it became a sure pitfall in the path of rising poets all over the nation. Since Kalidas, the greatest Sanskrit poet who flourished in the third century of the Christian era,

Tagore has been the first national poet in the true sense of the term. While 18,000 lines are credited to Milton, Tagore has, until now, written more than 100,000 lines of verse. His songs number from 1,300 to 1,400. Some of India's best novels and hundreds of short stories add to the long list of his writings. While his philosophical treatises and essays on art and literature lie on the library tables of the so-called intelligentsia, his fictional writings have also swayed the masses of his countrymen. Unschooled peasants have a great store of his songs on the tips of their tongues. And when the moon is high overhead, the people of the small towns often perform his historical plays in the streets for the free enjoyment of the entire community.



Keeping in the tradition of the great teachers of the past, the man of letters became a man of action as a further step toward his goal of first reviving the ancient culture of India and, second, of seeking a higher unity between India's tradition and Western science. In 1901, he started an educational project on his father's estate about a hundred miles from Calcutta. Away from the bruit of the metropolis, yet within its easy accessibility, he built thatched huts for the handful of teachers and students who were caught by the inspiration behind the idea. This nucleus has now grown into Visva-Bharati.

There is a legend attached to Tagore's choice of the site for Shantiniketan, the abode of peace. The story is based on tradition, as are the histories of all *Gurukulas*, clans of the *Gurus*, of bygone days. The poet's father traveled the length and breadth of India, but never until he saw the isolated ground where Shantiniketan now stands could he locate the ideal spot for a meditative

retreat. When he saw these particular acres in Bengal, he was struck by their appropriateness as the site for a sanctuary. He returned there again and again. Finally in 1863 he bought the ground, sculptured the wild growth into a beautiful garden, and erected a temple. In 1901 his son, Rabindranath, started his small school there.

Meditation is natural at this place. Often I sat there long before the day-break, before the Ashram choir was out to welcome the sun with its music, and mingled with the serene peace that surrounded me. The morning star glimmered down through the foliage at me, a tiny speck in human flesh seated on stone. The synthetic process of mind that naturally flowed there amid the speaking silence of the forest and under the open sky has disappeared in the fast-moving life of Manhattan.

Such were the very ideals of Tagore when he chose the site for his school. The forest, according to him, unlike the desert, or rock, or sea, is living. About one hundred miles from the metropolis, the poet believes Shantiniketan gives its students a perspective on life which could be impossible in the city.

It is plausible that Tagore's selection of a forest retreat for his school was one of the first evidences of a behavior pattern that has gradually made the people of India identify him in their minds with the *Gurus* of the past. These master teachers of ancient Aryavarta were all forest-dwellers. Their usual abodes were either on some shady spot on the Ganges or on the bank of a lake in the Himalayas. Under the shadow of the banyan tree, encircled by the murmuring bamboo jungles, they lit their sacrificial fires. Around them were their wives, their children, and their pupils. The latter were the flowers of Indian youth—heirs to thrones, sons of Bania bankers, Brahmin boys, and future generals. Under the watch-

ful eyes of the *Gurus*, these students grew in sympathy with all creation. They communed with the soil under their plows, with the cows that they shepherded in surrounding pastures, with the rabbits and deer that came to their huts for feeding. The birds nesting in the thatched huts were their singing companions. The rivers that were stirred by their eel-like splashings as they took their morning baths had great messages for them. Communion with nature was the first step toward communion with life's fundamental problems, and direct contact with the *Guru's* life was the main part of their education in the forest school.

When citizens and leaders from the surrounding towns and cities came to pay homage to the master teachers, the latter gave them unbiased advice—the wisdom of their disinterested thinking in the midst of such tranquil surroundings and under the open sky. On rarer occasions, the *Gurus* left their *Ashramas* to accept the invitation of a perplexed king to direct his court for a time. They were thus the indirect moulders of community life, though untouched by it. Like a lotus unto water, they were connected with, yet untouched by, society.

It is in the light of this tradition of India's history that many of Tagore's obvious inconsistencies warrant a deep meaning. Although most of his thinking is devoted to the problem of India's uplift, Tagore like the *Gurus* of the past, seldom participates in direct politics. Only on rare occasions, such as a Gandhi fasting unto death, or the British Government conducting a massacre at Amritsar, does he move out of his forest retreat to put the weight of his personality on one side or the other. Politics interests him insofar as it has to do with social reform and educational enterprise. His is the privilege of thinking disinterestedly for the benefit of

society. India has always recognized it as the most sacred service.



Pupils at Shantiniketan commit scores of Tagore's melodious songs to memory without any conscious effort on their part. They learn the tunes from the morning rounds of the *Ashrama* choir which awakens the community with the poet's music. They pick up the tempo from evening dances. The great store of Tagore's songs, often deep in philosophy and always in charming style, furnish the students with an unique background on things and personalities around them. They also develop in them a proper life perspective in general. It is this privilege of living in the consciousness of the great poet and looking at the world through the philosopher's eyes that distinguishes Shantiniketan from modern schools in India. It was the same feature that distinguished *Gurukulas* of the past.

But Tagore's pupils at Shantiniketan get more than indirect contact with his great mind. The teacher and the taught have many an hour together. In classes under mango groves, and when the poet invites his students to hear one of his latest creations, in rehearsals of his plays which *Gurudeva* himself directs, and in informal wanderings in the garden, the students find in the aging saint a very humane, charming, and loving personality. In those contacts, Tagore's moments of exhilaration never fail to tense the nerves of students. They have a store of such tales.

There is the legend that once he was reading to his students the Bengali version of his *Religion of Man*, the lectures he delivered at Oxford. The room suddenly grew dark with an approaching summer storm. Thunder cracked very low over the building. Rain began to beat upon the windows.

The poet rose from his chair and hurried from the room, shouting, "The master calls me!" The next morning they learned that he had written his famous thunder-storm poem.

Then there is the story of a rehearsal when everything went wrong. The pupils were practicing dancing for one of Tagore's plays to be produced in Calcutta as a part of the spring festival. The poet himself was coaching the dancing and acting from an easy chair. Someone failed to follow the music. Exasperated out of his usual composure, Tagore, then already more than seventy, left his chair and began to execute the dance as he would have it done. Only the intervention of his daughter, Mira, who feared that he might collapse from the unwonted exertion, interrupted his demonstration of how to express the soul of that dance.

Then there is the tale of an afternoon when he suddenly stopped reading a lesson to his class and exclaimed, "Do you know, even a poet requires some rice once in a while?"

The entire life of Shantiniketan is thus centered around the versatile personality of Tagore. In spite of the great scholars and artists who have taken Tagore's abode of peace as their own permanent residence, in spite of a brilliant faculty and a growing student

body, Shantiniketan is essentially a one-man show. So were the *Gurukulas* of ancient India. Tagore's forest retreat, like similar schools of the past, offers a sharp contrast to highly organized modern universities. The difference is between personality and organization. The former type of school does and must disintegrate soon after the central figure is removed from the scene; the latter outlives generations.

It is in the broken line of *Gurus* in their *Gurukulas*, however, instead of through organized seats of learning maintaining existence for long periods of time, that India has kept and enriched her culture so far. Shantiniketan of Tagore is perhaps the last flicker of the tradition.

To many a Westerner, therefore, Tagore's abode of peace has appeared as a fantastic anachronism in the present age of science and technology. Many an Indian also has felt that the idea has outlived its usefulness. But whatever the truth in the matter, there is no doubt of the fact that Tagore, by his teachings and through Shantiniketan, has answered a very pressing need of India in transition. Thanks to Rabindranath Tagore, perhaps the last of the *Gurus*, India will remain India even when the age of the machine has completely engulfed her superficially.



THERE'S A WOLF AT THE BACK DOOR, TOO.

—Nashville, Tenn. Banner.

—proving that governments always
collect — even in Soviet Russia

TAXES *in the* SOVIET

BY ALBERT HANDY

THE common conception of what is properly regarded as a communist state excludes the conventional idea of taxation. It may therefore cause surprise, and perhaps shock preconceived notions, to learn that Soviet Russia possesses a well-developed system of taxes and public finance, which has many points of contact with the method of capitalistic countries.

First we should know something of the political set-up. The Soviet Union consists of a number of separate republics which include certain autonomous regions. There are three separate fiscal divisions, as in the United States. First, there is the Union, which corresponds to our Federal Government. (The Russian Central Government, however, was planned to possess much greater power than was ever contemplated for the President and Congress by those who framed the American Constitution.) Second, there are the autonomous republics corresponding to the States. Third, there are various subdivisions and municipalities.

Subsequent to 1930—that is, between the Sixth and Seventh Congress, “districts [were] created and village budgets inaugurated,” it was reported last year by G. F. Grinko, Commissar of Finance.

“This administrative reform,” the report went on to say, “*** is reflected in the growth of the district and village budgets. District budgets increased

from 700,000,000 rubles in 1929-30 to 1,800,000,000 rubles in 1934. During the same period village budgets increased from 260,000,000 rubles to 1,900,000,000 rubles.”

Differing from the prevailing condition in the United States, the local budgets and those of the republics are comparatively minor items in the general plan of Government finance.

Russia was an outstandingly backward country, perhaps the most backward in Europe. Its tax system, even as late as 1900, was comparable to that of other continental nations a century and a half earlier. Because to the Slavonic mind the direct tax usually is anathema, most taxes were indirect. And probably more than 75% of the tax burden was borne by the proletariat.

Vodka, the consumption of which was encouraged by the Government, was the largest revenue-producer. E. T. Dillon has epitomized a whole chapter of pre-war Russia's fiscal history in this single sentence: “Direct taxes were gathered with the lash and indirect contributions to the treasury extracted through the tavern.”

Russia had a death tax which produced little revenue. The ruling classes resisted all efforts to enact an income-tax law prior to the first World War. When, at last, during the war period, it was enacted, no effort was made to enforce it. In 1913 the tax revenues of the empire were two and one-tenth

billion rubles, and the receipts from governmental enterprises, including post-office, railroads and state forests, were one billion three hundred million. The largest single item of expenditure in the budget for that year was defense, which called for more than one quarter of the revenue. Almost as much was appropriated for governmental undertakings. Less than 5% was apportioned to education.

On January 1, 1914, the state debt was almost nine billion rubles, of which approximately one third was held abroad. During the war the debt was increased to twenty-six billion rubles. Then in 1917 came the Revolution—and repudiation. The debt was wiped out, with minor and inconsequential exceptions, and Soviet Russia became a pariah in the money markets of the world.

Fiscal History

The fiscal history of the Soviet Union divides itself into four distinct periods. The first of these is the period of military communism, extending from 1917 to 1921. The new State appears to have inherited the tax system of the old, but actually only the form was inherited. The former bases of taxation had been completely obliterated by the Revolution. If there was taxation, it took the form of a capital levy. In effect there was confiscation and expropriation. Those who had the power seized all the property which they could locate in the name of the state. Land, precious metals, securities, and chattels—all entered the capacious maw of Bolshevism. The local soviets, on their own initiative and without any authority from the central powers, participated in the general grab. The accidental and extraordinary character of this occasional "taxation" by the local boards

excited deep resentment among the people and further disorganized an already confused and chaotic fiscal system. The union Government by a series of decrees promulgated during 1918 regulated and drastically limited the authority of the local bodies to levy taxes. It is interesting to recall that this situation is the reverse of that which dominated the minds of the makers of the American Constitution. There, every effort was made to restrict the fiscal power to be vested in the Federal Government.

Almost contemporaneous with the end of military communism was the Russian famine (1921-1922). The quotas of food taken from the peasants to be distributed among the vast body of consumers had drained all the resources of the villagers. The supply of grain left with the agricultural population for food and planting was totally inadequate to fill either requirement. As was the case in France under a corrupt monarchy two centuries before, the peasants were allowed to retain only the equivalent of a bare minimum of subsistence. Being then deprived of every incentive to enlarge their cultivated area and improve their methods, agricultural production lagged.

During the period immediately following the Soviet accession to power, estimates of revenue and expenditures were prepared. The ruble, however, raced the German mark down the toboggan-slide and hence these estimates were meaningless. By 1921, the revenues, in terms of the depressed ruble, had risen to four and one-seventh trillion rubles and the expenditures to twenty-four and a half trillion. In 1921 the collection of taxes in money was discontinued and estimates were not even passed by the Government.

In 1921 the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy) was inaugurated. In 1922 the second fiscal period began. There was

a complete revision of the tax system. Excises were imposed on alcoholic beverages, tobacco, salt, sugar, and other products. Several other taxes were introduced in addition to the tax in kind. Of the new taxes, five were direct, thirteen were indirect, and seven were duties of various sorts. This system was found to be too complicated and a simplification was attempted the following year. Consolidations resulted in the establishment of a single property tax and a single agricultural tax for the villages.

Although more than half the taxes were collected in kind, the period from 1922 to 1926 was marked by a series of budgetary deficits. Ruble notes were issued to meet these deficits—an expedient originating in, and developed by, capitalistic countries. These issues were limited to fifteen million rubles a month, calculated at the rate of the chervonets (bank notes, obligations of the *Gosbank*, i.e., state central bank, having a theoretical value of ten rubles) on the first of each month. In 1923, however, conditions improved; crops were better, the supply from domestic gold mines increased, and extreme economy in imports resulted in a favorable trade balance.

The third period began with fiscal year 1925-26 when a stable budget for the whole U.S.S.R. was prepared. The pre-revolutionary plan of taxation, with some important modifications, prevailed. The agricultural tax, which was progressive, was subjected to revision and some measure of reduction. The policy of the Government, as stated in *Soviet Policy in Public Finance* by Gregory Y. Sokolnikov and associates, was to seek the active political support of the poorer peasants, who had been largely exempted from any tax burden, to adopt an attitude of more or less benevolent neutrality toward the middle class, which consti-

tuted a majority of the agriculturalists, and to wage relentless war, fiscal and otherwise, against the kulaks (well-to-do peasants), whose numbers had materially increased since 1920. The agricultural tax became, in effect, a faculty tax—that is, one based upon ability to pay. This is of respectable antiquity; it obtained in the New England colonies three centuries ago. A surtax might also be levied; and in order to reach with “greater certitude the households of labor-exploiting and money-lending kulaks,” a method of “individual taxation” was introduced.

There resulted from this policy numerous instances of evasion on the part of the well-to-do. Land was not listed and cattle were concealed when the assessment was made—a practice also of respectable antiquity. It has been estimated that the sowed area listed for the agricultural tax was about fifteen million desiatins (the desiatin is approximately two and three-quarter acres) short of the actual area. Horses and cattle reported were from 7 million to 8 million less than those actually on hoof. Of the four billion in non-agricultural earnings of the peasantry, only about three hundred million were reached by the tax collector.

The income tax was first designated an income-property tax. Later the property feature was eliminated. The primary purpose of the tax seems to have been social rather than fiscal. It was intended to regulate the accumulation of private capital in the cities, as was the agricultural tax in the country districts. Private capital has never entirely disappeared from the Soviet State. At no time has the amount been large, yet in 1927, 18% of the gross production of the Union was derived from private industry. Small enterprises and peasant household craft accounted for most of this production.

The income-tax law recognized

three classes of taxpayers. The workers and employees—the true proletariat—received the most favorable treatment. Those living on the receipts of unearned income were taxed the most heavily. A discrimination in favor of earned income is found in several of the American income tax statutes as well as in those of other countries. Death and gift taxes were also imposed at highly progressive rates. In most countries the rates would have been confiscatory. Owing, however, to the general socialization of wealth in Russia, receipts from these sources were not large. Then there was a license tax on the exercise of various trades and professions, a tax which for centuries has had its counterpart in capitalistic countries.

But those taxes which the Soviets themselves denominated excises, produced the largest portion of the revenue. In the period from 1922 to 1928 receipts from these sources increased 1,300%. The most spectacular advance occurred in connection with alcoholic beverages. Up to 1921 the Soviet Union was classed as a dry country. Lenin had opposed the use of alcohol, but even Lenin could not root out an age-old habit. The experiment with prohibition in Russia duplicated the experience of the United States. Bootlegging flourished; household distilleries were prolific in their output. Even in the worst years of the famine, enormous quantities of grain were consumed in the production of "samogon," a beverage manufactured by peasants and reported to bear a close resemblance to the "white mule" of the southern mountain districts of the United States. Even with repeal of prohibition, it proved impossible to entirely suppress the trade in illicit liquor, due in part to the excessive tax on vodka. Nevertheless for the year 1927-28, more than half the revenue

from excises was attributable to alcoholic beverages.

Owing to the socialization of wealth and commerce, the major portion of the profit from manufacturing and other industries, and from foreign and domestic trade, pass through the budget. The control which the Government exercises over foreign trade creates a peculiar condition in regard to the customs. Customs perform a dual function. The raising of revenue is frequently regarded as of secondary consequence. The more important of these functions is to regulate the inflow of foreign goods. In the Soviet Union there is a comprehensive fixed plan of imports and exports under which the quantity of commodities to be purchased abroad is fixed in advance. Thus the protective function of the customs is rendered almost unnecessary. The quantity of commodities purchased abroad has varied from year to year. An irregular increase up to 1931 is observed (more than 1,100,000,000 gold rubles in that year). In 1935 the Commissar of Foreign Trade noted, however, that "from 1932 on, our imports began to show a marked and systematic decline," owing to considerable success in the development of heavy industry under the first Five Year Plan.

The fourth fiscal period began with the year 1931. Another new system of taxation designed to obtain greater revenue in order to aid the national industrial development was introduced. The authorities had decided some six years before, since voluntary savings appeared inadequate, to restore the practice of financing industrial development out of budget revenue. Hence, a progressively increasing proportion of national income passed through the budget. This progression appears in detail in table on page 87.

The abrupt increase in budget reve-

| Period | National Income | Budget Revenue (in million rubles) | Percent Income |
|--------------|--------------------|--|-------------------|
| 1913..... | 13,896 | 2,849 | 20.6 |
| 1925-26..... | 21,230 | 4,215 | 19.6 |
| 1927-28..... | 25,342 | 6,836 | 26.9 |
| 1929-30..... | 33,963 | 12,986 | 38.2 |
| 1931..... | 37,800 | 23,155 | 61.3 |
| 1932..... | 45,100 | 31,031 | 68.8 |
| 1933..... | 51,000 | 39,200 | 77.0 |
| 1934..... | 55,600 | 49,726 | 89.0 |

(Table adapted from *Banking and Credit in the Soviet Union*, London. 1935)

nues which occurred in 1931 is noteworthy and was due largely to the change in the fiscal system. This change, as above indicated, became essential in order to accelerate the momentum of the first Five Year Plan. The outstanding purpose of the Government has been, as evidenced by the foregoing table, to bring as large a proportion as possible of the national income within the scope of the budget.

The old imposts (fifty to seventy-five in number) were in great measure abandoned. Their place was taken by two classes of taxes: three on the "socialized" sector, *i.e.*, enterprises, corporations, etc.; and three on private persons. Those in the first division are (a) the turnover or sales tax; (b) the tax on profits of state enterprises; and (c) the tax on revenues of cooperatives. These are the most important, and the greatest of them is the sales, or turnover, tax. For 1936, the estimated total of budgetary receipts is seventy-eight and three-quarter billion rubles, and of this sum, sixty-two and two-third billions are attributable to the turnover tax, an amount almost equal to the entire revenue for the preceding year. Differing from the French turnover tax, the Soviet impost in most instances is not pyramided; its burden is imposed on the price only once. The incidence of the tax is on the ultimate consumer—that is, the price of the commodity is increased by the amount of the tax thereon. The tax is not uni-

form; vodka, cigarettes, and kerosene top the list with an impost of approximately 90%. At the other end of the scale are leather goods, and timber and wood products. Here the tax is only 1%. Even in the case of the same commodity, the rate may vary. Thus, first-quality toilet soap is listed at 69%, while the second quality has a rate of 72%. Another point of departure from the conventional tax program exists in the frequent failure to impose the lightest burden on necessities and to adopt a higher rate for luxuries. A close relationship exists between taxation and price regulation. This may in part explain the wide variation in rates.

It may appear anomalous for an allegedly communistic state to adopt as its chief source of revenue what is generally regarded by economists as a highly regressive tax. However, as explained hereafter, the chief purpose of the Government has been to minimize the ability of the population to purchase consumer goods, and the sales tax has proved an effective aid toward the attainment of this end.

Taxes imposed on private persons are, for obvious reasons, minor factors in the whole scheme of public finance. These taxes are: the personal income tax, a business tax upon private enterprises and professions, and a number of dues, licenses, and other charges merged into a single tax. In addition, all peasants, both the members of the collective farms and those working

their own lands, pay a single tax, which is, in effect, a continuation of the agricultural tax.

The great industrial development of the country since the inauguration of the first Five Year Plan has been made possible only by compulsory national saving much in excess of anything which might have been accomplished by voluntary effort on the part of the people, and also in excess of the degree of sacrifice attained in any occidental country in time of peace. Fiscal aid from foreign sources usually has been unobtainable. All surplus earnings of the people have been appropriated by the Government. These are generally regarded as forced loans, although any compulsion is disclaimed by the State. At the beginning of 1934, the amount of outstanding internal indebtedness was about thirteen billion rubles, and the number of bondholders exceeded forty-five million persons. The resources of the savings banks are also at the disposal of the Government. There are about nineteen million depositors, but the average deposit is small. Here it must be recalled that there is practically no medium for private investment of funds in Russia and that the savings banks alone accept deposits from private individuals. They also perform all technical operations in connection with the servicing of loans.

The money so taken, however, has not actually added to the purchasing power of the State, since the State owns all natural resources and controls all means of production and distribution. While payments have to be made to the workers, their real remuneration consists of food and other consumer goods, housing, etc., all provided by the State. The actual benefit derived by it, then, is that it is relieved of the necessity of providing consumer goods or services equal to that amount during the currency of the loan or the term of the deposit.

Russia has deified the National Economy. To it, the Soviet State has made sacrifice. As early as 1922, Lenin, in his report to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, noted that every reduction which is effected in the demand for consumer goods releases an increased amount of capital and labor for the purposes of heavy industry.

The failure of industry to develop with sufficient rapidity resulted in the inauguration of the Five Year Plan. Shortly after its adoption, the whole scheme of taxation was changed in order to produce greater revenues. Two-thirds of the revenue is devoted to the financing of the national economy. The table printed below shows how the State has spent its money:

| | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 |
|------------------------------------|--------|--------|---------------------|--------|---------|-----------|
| | | | (in million rubles) | | | Estimates |
| National Economy | 15,177 | 23,301 | 25,159 | 27,952 | 35,104* | 37,584* |
| Social & Cultural | 3,518 | 4,768 | 6,123 | 8,499 | 4,783* | 6,390* |
| State Loans | 408 | 962 | 1,273 | 1,792 | 1,815 | |
| Defense | 1,288 | 1,296 | 1,421 | 5,000 | 6,500 | 14,815 |
| Administration | | | | | 688 | 887 |
| Grants to Autonomous Budgets | | | | 4,883 | 8,850 | 12,456 |
| Total Budget | 22,118 | 33,054 | 42,774 | 49,762 | 65,702 | 78,715 |

*Union budget only, excluding republican and local budgets.

The budgetary appropriations for social and cultural purposes, which include education, appear not to have increased as rapidly as some other items of expenditure. Nevertheless, in a report to the Third Moscow Regional Congress in 1935, it was stated that as a result of the "growing prosperity" there has been a vast improvement in cultural development and that illiteracy has been almost eliminated. This is due to large non-budgetary disbursements. The budgetary and non-budgetary expenditures on social and cultural measures in that year amounted to more than eighteen and two-thirds billion rubles, of which sum more than half was devoted to public education and more than one-quarter to public health. It is noteworthy, however, that a fee is charged for admission to opera, museums, and the zoo, while capitalistic countries, since the days of cultured Greece and imperial Rome, have provided free entertainment for the people.

The greatest proportionate budgetary increase has been in military appropria-

tions. In 1935, the budgetary grant amounted to six and a half billion rubles, although the actual expenditure reached eight billions. For 1936 the latter figure has been almost doubled. Russia, having attained industrial success, follows in the footsteps of capitalistic countries in the matter of military expenditures.

Under a decree effective April 1, 1936, the aid granted to several branches of heavy industry has been in part withdrawn; and the turnover tax is to be reduced to prevent a rise in prices.

In 1935 the Commissar of Finance reported: "The legislation passed on the income tax, and the levy for cultural needs and housing shows that taxation of the toilers in town and country, far from increasing, is to a certain extent decreasing.

"It need hardly be said that no relaxation of our class taxation policy with regard to the remnants of capitalist elements in town and country, particularly with regard to the kulaks, must be permitted."

American Business Views the Soviet

I AM gratified to report that Soviet purchases in the United States during 1935 amounted to something slightly over \$42,000,000 as against \$14,000,000 in 1934. This represents an increase of almost 200% in the orders placed in 1935 over those of 1934. During 1935 American cotton was purchased to the value of somewhat in excess of \$8,000,000; the remaining \$34,000,000 was for industrial equipment of all sorts and raw and semi-manufactured materials.

Moscow officials hold that this increase was quite largely a result of the exchange of notes between Ambassador Bullitt and Commissar for Foreign Affairs M. Litvinoff which took place on July 13, last year. In this exchange the Soviet Government gave assurances that it intended to purchase in the United States during the following twelve months, that is the period between July 13, 1935 and July 12, 1936, goods to the value of \$30,000,000.

From July to December last year the Soviet Government placed orders totaling about \$26,500,000, which represented a gain of 70% over the first six months of 1935. This left under the treaty only about \$3,500,000 for the USSR to purchase during the first six months of 1936 in order to fulfill its treaty obligations and, although the official figures have not yet been published, I can inform you that the purchases have exceeded this sum since the first of the year and that the obligations contained in the agreement have now been more than met three months prior to the stipulated time. * * *

Sixty-nine firms received orders from the Amtorg in 1935 in amounts in excess of \$100,000. In all, 900 firms sold their products to the Soviet Union in 1935. There is every indication that American-Soviet trade will expand rather than diminish. * * *

Address by Reeve Schley president of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, at the luncheon of the chamber April 22, 1936, at The Bankers Club, New York City.

Eliminating The Unfit

THE problem of eliminating defective individuals would be simplified were we dealing with lower animals rather than man. In the human species the problem is not so simple. One cannot reduce human mating to the method of the breeding pen, but the essential principles are not substantially different. Preventing undesirables from reproducing, and continuing this process generation after generation, leads to the elimination of a considerable number of such defectives from the population, with the result that the perpetuation of the race is left to those individuals that seem to possess vigorous normal traits. The race in general gradually approaches a more normal pattern. Preventing the unfit from being numbered among the parents of the next generation would provide that generation with better parents than it would have had otherwise. To a corresponding degree, also, the potentialities of this generation for producing normal and desirable types would be increased, and at the same time its capacity for producing abnormal and undesirable types would be decreased.

Clarence G. Campbell, President of the Eugenics Research Association, has divided the human family into three groups—the best stock, the good stock, and the bad stock. According to Campbell, the best and the bad stock each constitute about one tenth of the population, leaving approximately eight tenths of the population in the good stock. In the best stock are numbered those individuals with superior qualities who are recognized as leaders in society. These are the individuals whose endowments are such that they not only control their own environment, but also control and direct that of others. The good stock consists of the element in the population who are law-abiding and normal citizens, performing their social and economic tasks not alone for their well-being but also for the benefit of civilization. From this group superior individuals often originate, thus adding to the superior stock. The bad stock comprises the so-called dysgenic group, those with defective qualities that make for the degeneration of society. Herein are included the feeble-minded, the insane, the paupers, the confirmed criminals, and the grave sex offenders. This group, in general, is a tremendous burden on society. Genetic evidence has been accumulating to reveal that most of these defects are due to heredity. Social workers also have discovered that from this stock the largest percentage of the dependent individuals originate. Geneticists and social workers, therefore, believe that nothing but good can come from planned scientific efforts in the direction of the rapid elimination of these defects.

From an article in the *Calcutta Review* for June 1936,
by Dr. R. C. Biswas, M.S., Ph.D.

STERILIZATION—a pointedly frank discussion of a grave social problem—by J. H. LANDMAN, Ph.D., J.D., J.S.D.

OF THE 125,000,000 people in the United States, as many as 25,000,000 are socially maladjusted or unadjusted. Not all these unfortunates have inherited their condition. Many are socially desirable people; others are not. Some are of superior inheritance; others are so inferior that they are not worthy of being incorporated in our national stock.

These various groups include dependents, such as the unemployed, the unemployable, the deaf, the deformed, and the blind; the delinquents, such as the wayward and the criminal; the mentally deficient, the degenerates, and the infectious. Which of these classes of people should be considered for sterilization? Which of them have inherited their condition? Which have acquired their insufficiencies?

The situation presents the United States with a grave population problem. Some eugenicists point out with alarm that these maladjusted and unadjusted people multiply more rapidly than normal human beings, and that our civilization is doomed to perdition. They contend also that these unfortunates are not competent to rear the future citizens of our country.

Optimistic eugenicists dispute these opinions. They declare that more complete and precise statistical records would show that the number of social misfits is not actually increasing more rapidly than that of the socially adjusted. They hold also that some of

the socially misfit, such as many of the unemployed, are of high intellectual heritage, that the iniquities of our social order have rendered many of the present misfits socially inadequate, and that, with a fundamental social change, most of these people will find an appropriate social and economic place for themselves.

Undoubtedly, environment and inheritance play important rôles in the development of the human personality. But environmentalists and hereditists, particularly the latter, are guilty of making exaggerated claims for their cause. Eugenics is an infant science. As yet it has contributed little in the way of scientifically established fact. Many propagandists have prostituted this meager information to defend race superiority, ancestor worship, snobbery, class distinction, and intellectual aristocracy. More sound biologic knowledge for such a drastic program as compulsory human sterilization is still wanting, and much of our existing biologic knowledge needs correcting. It is not true that celebrated individuals necessarily beget celebrated offspring. It is not true that the Jukes and the Kallikaks beget only criminal children. It is not true that the Edwards family begets only superior children. It is not true that a mental trait, like high intelligence or idiocy, is transmissible in accordance with the Mendelian theory. It is questionable whether there are more children in the families

in which both parents are idiots or feeble-minded than those in which both parents are mentally normal. The future of eugenics is promising, but it needs more research and less propaganda. At least, we should be certain of the hereditability of the ailment of persons who are about to be sterilized.

What is Sterilization?

Human sterilization should not be confused with castration. Men who have been castrated develop obesity, grayness of the hair, falling out of the beard-hairs, changes in the skin, involution of the genital organs, and other characteristics. Similar conditions are manifest in castrated women. But such fundamental physiological disturbances are not to be found in sterilized people. (In man, the sterilization process is the cutting and tying of the two seminal ducts so that the sperm cannot be ejaculated to impregnate the woman. So little pain or mental shock accompanies this operation that a local anaesthetic is all that is necessary.) One or two days in bed, with two or three days in the surgical ward, is the length of the confinement required. Most patients convalesce so rapidly that they can engage directly in light work and soon after resume their normal lives. In woman, the process involves an abdominal incision and the cutting and tying of the oviducts, thus preventing the ovum, or egg, from entering the womb. Hospitalization for two weeks and convalescence for a number of months render this operation a more serious undertaking than the one for the man. Gynecologists have busied themselves perfecting a technique of sterilizing women which would be less painful and serious. Dr. R. L. Dickinson has tried coagulating the ends of the oviducts with an electric current, where they empty into the womb, by a process

requiring an approach through the vagina. The difficulty lies in the fact that the surgeon is obliged to manipulate very much in the dark. Doctor Dickinson uses the Roentgen shadow and the sounding of the womb to direct him, while Drs. M. N. Hyams and F. E. Hoffman use the fluoroscope.

These operations, when successful, permanently sterilize the patient. Of late, considerable attention has been attracted to a process of establishing immunity to pregnancy by injections of testicular fluid into the blood stream of the female. The experiments on guinea pigs and rabbits have been very successful. And Dr. M. Baskin of Denver, Colorado, has already proven his ability to immunize women temporarily by injecting into their blood the male semen. What remains unsolved is the determination of the quantity of the semen to be injected in relation to the length of time for which immunity is desired. Were this perfected, a man or woman could be easily rendered sterile for a limited period of time with only the little pain that attends the injection of a hypodermic needle. These experiments are very promising and may have much in store for mankind.

Effects

Studies that have been made of the men and women who have been sterilized show that these operations have not made a noticeable change in their sexual lives, other than preventing them from ever becoming parents. In some cases the sexual activity and enjoyment were actually increased, though in a few others they were decreased. The physical and mental health of the patients was not disturbed. In a few instances, their health was improved. The ability to control the duration of sexual intercourse was in most cases influenced

neither favorably nor unfavorably. The frequency of coitus was increased as compared with the habits of the sterilized people before the operation.

There seems to be no evidence that sterilization causes irregularity in menstruation. On the contrary, menstruation is likely to be more regular and less painful. In the vast majority of cases, the wives of sterilized men declared that the operation rendered their marriages no less happy. Two thirds of the marriages studied, in which one of the spouses was sterilized, were judged successful, while one third were regarded as failures. Sterilization is not held particularly responsible for this situation, since the same proportion of failures, if not more, would have existed among normal people.

What are some other effects? Normal people, who submit to voluntary sterilization for contraceptive, eugenic, economic, or therapeutic reasons, were originally participating citizens in society. Their case histories show that they resumed their positions without suffering any radically bad social or psychological effects. But what about abnormal people, particularly those who are inmates of our public institutions? When sterilized, they experience little mental or physical improvement, and this presents a major aspect of the problem: Unless the sterilized in public institutions can be restored to society, so as to relieve the State of the burden of maintaining them, a primary reason for sterilizing such individuals is destroyed. Why sterilize them and keep them institutionalized at the same time? A study made in California, where more than half of the sterilization operations in the United States were performed, shows that as many as 67% of the insane males and 79% of the insane females were still confined in institutions two

years after the operations. In another California study, it was discovered that 34% of the feeble-minded women were still institutionalized, although sterilized for some time.

When the paroled patient who has been sterilized is considered, we find that his success or failure bears little relationship to age, intelligence, economic status, family history, or length of the parole period. Many psychologists are of the opinion that sterilization has no mental or physical therapeutic value. They believe that the success of the paroled sterilized insane or feeble-minded patient is due to the training in behavior and in a trade that he or she received in the institution, rather than because of the surgery.

Legislation

The American program of human sterilization has been criticized severely from the standpoint of law, religion, and humanitarianism. Yet the United States is not only the pioneer, but also the chief advocate of the movement for human sterilization. In 1907 Indiana passed the first of about seventy sterilization laws which have been enacted in the various States. Today, twenty-eight States permit human sterilization: Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The States of Nevada, New Jersey, and New York have had laws of this type, but they were declared unconstitutional. The number of sterilizations performed under successful legislation in the United States up to January, 1936, was 23,118, of which more than half were performed on women.

The judicial history of sterilization is interesting. Under a barrage of criticism, legislation has run the gauntlet of the higher courts of the States. On eight different occasions, the respective State human sterilization laws were declared unconstitutional because they violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. It was held that they denied "due process of law," and/or "equal protection of the laws" to all classes of people. Again, they were ruled out because the surgical operation was considered a "cruel and unusual punishment" and therefore a violation of the State constitution in question.

In nine instances the constitutionality of the acts was upheld. Especially has this been true since the eventful *Buck vs. Bell* case (1927 47 Supt. Ct. Rep. 584) in the United States Supreme Court. The court held unequivocally that the Virginia law, authorizing the sterilization of mental defectives and others, under careful safeguards, is not void under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, since Carrie Buck was given an adequate trial and she was not discriminated against arbitrarily as compared with similar hereditary idiots at large. By virtue of this Federal Supreme Court decision, many new human sterilization laws were enacted, and the Kansas and Idaho Supreme Courts upheld the legality of their respective State laws.

An analysis of our State laws reveals that of the various socially inadequate classes that are subject to sterilization, the mentally deficient, the idiots, the insane, the epileptics, and the imbeciles are most frequently included. These represent the infirmities which present the greatest weight of scientific evidence of inheritability. On the other hand, under a few State laws, prostitutes, persons convicted of at

least two crimes, drug addicts, and sodomists are subject to sterilization. There is little scientific evidence that such people have inherited their maladies, though it might well be argued that they are unfit to rear children.

The execution of our human sterilization law reveals a gross inconsistency with scientific fact. About twice as many operations have been performed on the mentally diseased as on the feeble-minded. Yet eugenicists would agree that feeble-mindedness is more conclusively hereditary than mental disease. If we are intent on eradicating the undesirable from our midst, the number of operations on the feeble-minded should have been the greater.

Our human sterilization laws are compulsory, voluntary, or both. All the laws in force today contain a compulsory provision with the exception of those of Minnesota and Vermont. In effect, they are all voluntary because the State always required the written consent of the patient, and his or her nearest relatives. Since both the patients and their relatives are often mentally incompetent, it is well that the laws are compulsory in the interest of advancing the quality of our national stock. Of course, the interests of the patients are always adequately guarded since only properly qualified specialists recommend and determine whether the sterilization operation is advisable. Furthermore, all our laws provide for an appeal to a higher court for reconsideration of the recommendation.

It is surprising that so many of our sterilization laws apply to persons in institutions. There is no reason, as we have seen, for the sterilization of people in custody unless they can be released or paroled. Only California, South Dakota, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Maine have statutes which provide for the sterilization of inmates about to be paroled or discharged.

After all, the real risk to society comes from hereditarily dangerous people who are at liberty. They may become the parents of undesirable children. Yet at present only the states of Delaware, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, South Dakota, and Vermont have laws which apply to certain classes of people in institutions or at large. The matter of bringing undesirable people to the attention of the authorities raises difficulties, but not insurmountable problems. In Nebraska, the registration of all feeble-minded persons at large is required by law. In Germany, agencies have been created throughout the country to bring all mentally subnormal people before appropriate administrative boards for a determination as to the advisability of having them sterilized.

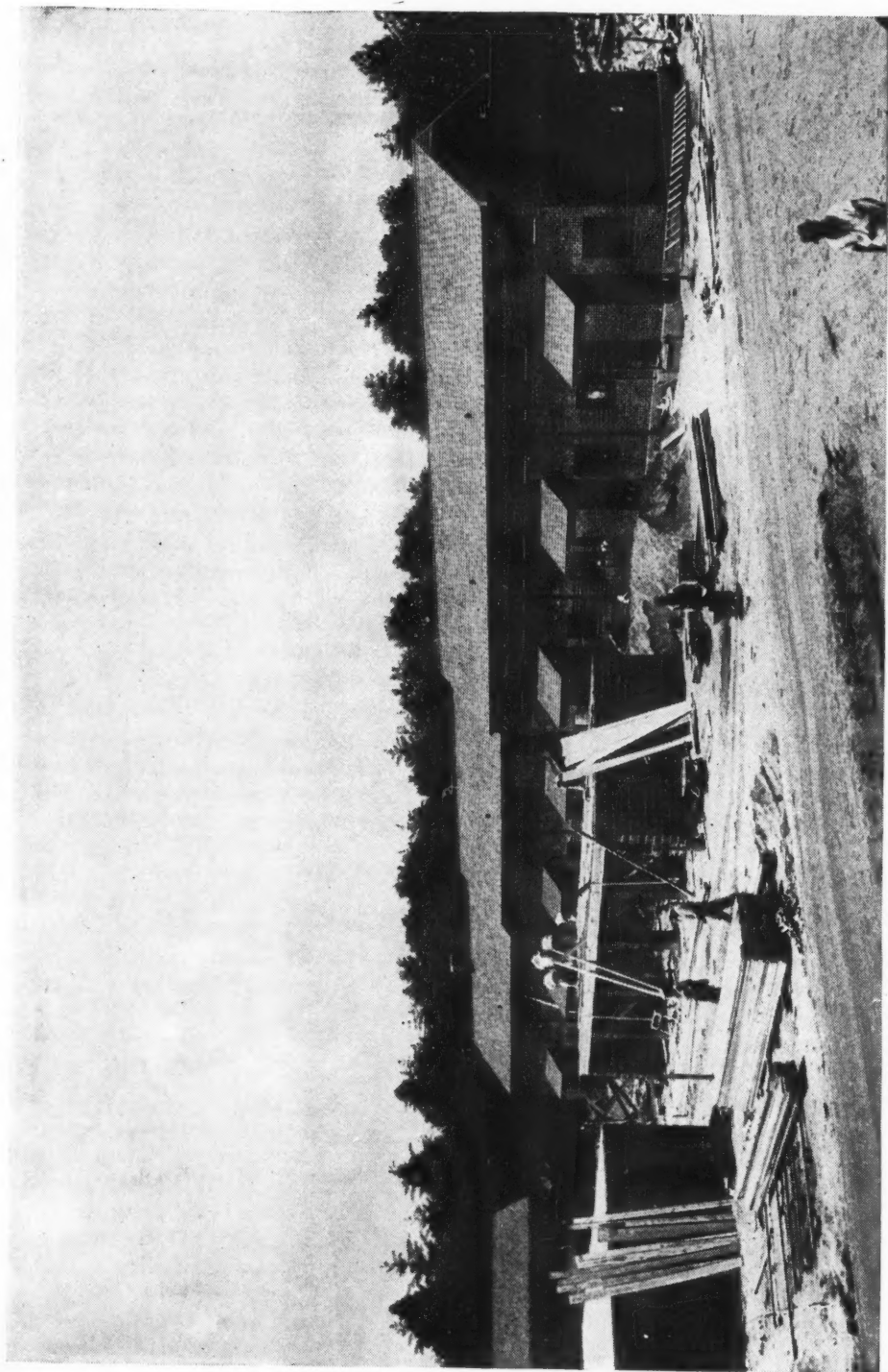
Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, and the Free City of Danzig have followed the example of the United States and are active proponents of human sterilization. The Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia in Canada, and the State of Vera Cruz, Mexico, are recent recruits to this cause. The German experiment has of late caused considerable interest

and comment. Since January 1934, the Nazi Government has sterilized about 70,000 persons and plans to sterilize 350,000 more, with a view to improving the quality of the future population by exterminating inherited disease.

❖ ❖ ❖

It seems clear that neither the claims of sterilization's staunch advocates or those of its opponents are altogether scientifically sound. It cannot be denied that human sterilization would tend to reduce the number of hereditarily undesirable persons, thus removing a burden from society, and from many individuals who care for them, by preventing the birth of children whose parents are unfit to rear them and, in many cases, do not want them. The opponents of human sterilization, in behalf of human liberty, religion, and morality, must consider the claims of society and the rights of children who might be born into misery which neither science nor social measures could rectify. If we are to adopt human sterilization as a national policy, we must have regard for our scientific ignorance of eugenics and for the possibilities of such legislation on the individuals involved and on our present and future society.





HOMES IN THE MAKING: One of the multiple houses under construction in Greenbelt.

"TUGWELLTOWN"

—which, of course, is the story of Greenbelt, the Government's new socialized community — a daring experiment, impartially described

BY DUNCAN AIKMAN

ITS official name will be *Greenbelt*, and several million Americans have already heard of it by its nickname—"Tugwelltown." But if Marylanders and suburbanites of the District of Columbia went in for classical allusions, it might, with a certain degree of realistic plausibility, have been christened *Atlantis-on-the-Hill*. A little over three hundred years ago when Sir Francis Bacon was planning a community of ideal sociological coordinations and cooperative services, he felt it was necessary to locate it on a mythical continent, but the United States Government of the 1930s has much more confidence in the concrete. Therefore, with a distinct ambition, or perhaps curiosity, to see how far normal life in an American small suburb can be pushed toward ideal social coordinations, it is building "Tugwelltown"—or Greenbelt—on a low mound of partially exhausted farmland within twelve miles of the national capital.

The Resettlement Administration at Washington, which is mother, father, and banker for Greenbelt, is anxious to see its 3,500-odd future residents develop a type of community living and social relationships which is pleasantly superior to the haphazard average of the American small town. But the RA planners, in arranging the civic future, are not taking the position that they are entitled to prescribe a perma-

nent standard of perfect communal behavior. More or less necessarily, there will be rules as to who shall become a resident of Greenbelt, when and for what reasons he must leave it, how the town shall be governed, its community services, and organization of its recreational and social activities. Most of these factors, if not all, will be subject to change as—and if—they fail to develop satisfactorily, or as the residents of the town, in view of their experience, see fit to dictate. In other words, the Resettlement Administration is more concerned about the type of regulation that will create the ideal conditions of American suburban life than it is convinced of knowing the answer in advance. Therefore, while there will unquestionably be more regimentation than there is in average American communities of 3,500, it will be flavored at all times with the tastes and consent of the regimented.

But just now Greenbelt is merely being built. In the chrysalis stage it looks a good deal like any other cunningly landscaped subdivision being rushed through the raw-boards stage for the impatient customers, except that the scope of the work is perhaps somewhat more comprehensive. Greenbelt is being built in a block, whereas the average subdivision is located a little on the far edges and a little in the middle, while the rest of the lots

lie vacant and the rest of the construction lies neglected for the customers' rush to develop.

Work operations today swarm all over Greenbelt. Houses, to be sure, are not being erected on a synchronized schedule; only 500 of them have reached the completed foundations and preliminary framework stage, and only about 200 are far enough along to call for attention from the inner partition carpenters. But where foundations are still lacking, steam-shovels are tearing away at the surface excavations, and where the ground is not yet ripe for this treatment, it is being prepared for landscape and street-cutting operations with the greatest possible speed.



This summer will mark the peak in Greenbelt construction, and from now until cool weather, some member of the construction force of 2,400 relief workers and 1,100 skilled workers will be busy on one plot or another of Greenbelt ground for practically every working-day minute. In the final stages, when all the ground-preparing operations are out of the way, there will be a quick concentration on actual house-building. Greenbelt's thousand homes, with appropriate business and recreation section appurtenances, are expected to be ready for community house-warming ceremonies on November 30, 1936, thirteen and a half months after the first earth was spaded.

Enough of the work already has been completed to afford a fairly concrete idea of Greenbelt's outlines. With a slight horseshoe contour of its streets, the town spreads over 200 acres of rising ground on the verge of a 22-acre artificial lake. Eventually, if the experiment continues to be effective and all the land available for settlement is taken up, the homes will completely surround the lake, and a small

city will come into being, numbering 25,000 residents.

Greenbelt would rank as an "original" in American suburbs if only because her streets have been cut to a minimum. When the first plans were drawn on a conventional subdivision program, it was estimated that, to give the finished small city of 25,000 adequate local transit, 66 miles of roadway would be required. Now Greenbelt will start on its thousand-family basis with barely six.

The problem of street reduction, and incidentally of paving and maintenance cost reductions, has been solved by arranging Greenbelt's houses in parks. The idea that the American home is not a home unless it has direct street frontage is decidedly a myth, according to Greenbelt's final planners. So the Greenbelt houses, mainly in little, detached rows of eight, are springing up in the center of what will soon be richly sodded, tree-planted lawns—this, when the landscape architects are through.

Around these residential parks run adequately paved highways so that no doorway will be more than a stone's throw from the huckster's truck or the family car parked at the curb. But the houses themselves have an air of gracious retirement, heretofore cultivated chiefly by estate-owners, and a quantity of sun, air, and open space far beyond that afforded the average suburban house which faces the street. Finally, in the center of each park, a neighborhood playground is conveniently located so that Greenbelt youngsters will not have to search for vacant lots for their scrub baseball and football activities. For the adult population, as well as for children, larger and more formal recreation grounds, with courts and playing fields for all the standard outdoor sports, are being graded on the town's outskirts, and

all are within short walking distance of the farthest homesites.

The crux of the Resettlement Administration's civic development project in Greenbelt lies in the fact that the town is being built as a refuge for modest income groups from high urban rental values. Greenbelt itself will cost approximately \$7,000,000—a fairly moderate outlay for a town of 1,000 houses, with adequate shopping district, civic service, and recreational facilities. The average cost per house, according to estimates of the RA calculators, will be under \$4,000, and each house will rent for between \$20 and \$30 monthly. In other words, Greenbelt is being built for District of Columbia families which, if they tried to live in Washington's congested area, would have to take either a slum tenement or a one-room-and-kitchenette flat, and which, in the more spacious residential districts, could find no accommodations at all within their purse limits.

Thus Greenbelt is being surrounded with a wall of official regulations both to protect its tenants from exploitation and to protect their low-rent opportunity. If you happen to earn \$10,000 a year and think it would be a pleasant idea to save money for your stamp collecting or horse-race losses by moving to a comfortable \$300-a-year rental neighborhood, you will have to find your model low-cost homestead somewhere outside of Greenbelt. Definite limitations have not yet been set on eligible income amounts for the prospective Greenbeltian, but there will be bounds and they will be definite. It is safe to say that no family will be allowed to lease a Greenbelt house if that family's income is greater than \$2,000. At the other end of the scale, settlement will not be encouraged by families for which even the modest Greenbelt rents bulk larger than a

fourth of the monthly income. Probably the low limit will be around \$1,100, although limitations at both ends may be slightly "stretchable" because of special family circumstances; that is, a seven-child family with an income of little more than \$2,000 might be admitted where a childless household with the same income might be excluded.

Furthermore, income limitations are expected to hold even after one has settled down as a "permanent" resident. Greenbelt, in fact, will perhaps be the only community in capitalistic civilization from which one can be ejected for making too much money. If your boss rewards your merit some Christmas by doubling your salary, or if your rich uncle dies and leaves you his profitable coupon-clipping business, there are just two things you can do about it. You can turn your extra gains into the town treasury, or leave Greenbelt to make room for the next "modest income group" family knocking on the eligibility list.

No penalties are being considered against residents who are lucky enough to win an Irish Sweepstakes pot or thousand-to-one freak election bet; on the other hand, sad situations in which incomes slip below the Greenbelt minimum or disappear entirely will be judged on their individual merits when the time comes. Under these circumstances, the question of whether or not you continue to reside in Greenbelt will probably depend, as in other subdivisions, on how impressively you can talk up to the landlord. In general, however, the town will be founded on a basis of almost complete economic homogeneity and will do all that it can to adhere to its rules and regulations.

Greenbelt is to be a "normal" American settlement, even if its normalcy should happen to be protected by further restrictions on the origins of its

citizenry. Furthermore, since the town is being built specifically for Washingtonians, the population balances of Washington will be accepted, as it were, as the "norm of normalcy." Presbyterians, for example, will be admitted as Greenbelt residents only in the same proportion they bear to the total Washington population unless, of course, the Catholics and the Methodists should fail to take advantage of their quota, in which case more room might be found for a determined Presbyterian influx.

The same yardstick will apply to the trades and professions—to beauticians and professors of philosophy; to carpenters and chiropractors. For that matter, it also holds in the matter of age groups. Greenbelt will not, if the RA continues to keep its finger on the population feed valve, become any idyllic haven for aged and retired government pensioners. People over seventy years of age will be admitted substantially in the same ratio that they bear to the Washington census count.

An insistence upon "normal" civic needs will show also in the regulations for private business enterprises. Although the Greenbeltians unquestionably would find Resettlement Administration officials responsive to the idea of founding all the local stores and shops on a cooperative basis, the likelihood at present is that business space will be leased to suburban entrepreneurs on a percentage-of-profit basis. But the community will still retain a tight regulatory hand over irresponsible initiative. Gasoline filling stations, drug stores, grocery stores, laundries, dental offices, and mortuaries will be allowed to locate in Greenbelt only with the permission of the town council. In other words, if the commerce department indicates that two drug stores and two laundries are

needed to serve 3,500 people, that many will be licensed, and no more. No competition will be allowed until it has been proved reasonably desirable and likely to be profitable.

Religious competition alone is fairly free from these restrictions. Church sites have been generously allotted in Greenbelt, though no specific church-building operations are yet under way. Although the community, with the RA as stakeholder, will own the consecrated ground, there will be no limit on how many sects build, or how they build, except for fire and safety regulations.

Apart from a mildly synthetic charter and by-laws bequeathed to them by their Federal emergency agency sponsors, there will be nothing unusual about the Greenbeltians' political status. They will rank as voters and, to the extent of their personal property, as taxpayers of Maryland. They can become as enthusiastic about Congressional, legislative and Maryland country elections as they please. Greenbelt itself will be governed under a council-manager plan, not essentially different from similar charter arrangements now in effect in hundreds of small incorporated communities from Oregon to Georgia. The first five councilmen will be hand-picked by the Resettlement Administration, but as their terms expire in rotation, they will be succeeded by councilmen chosen on a strictly elective basis.

However, there will be one peculiarity—not wholly unprecedented—about Greenbelt's local elections. The town will be governed in its legal status as a corporation, rather than as a municipality. The councilmen's legal authority will be derived essentially from their status as directors. Each tenant, therefore, will cast his vote as a corporation stockholder, rather than as a citizen, and each family will vote as a unit. It will not, as advocates of the

Greenbelt political structure see it, make much difference. Small-town family households generally vote as units in local elections everywhere. Woman suffrage will be temporarily abandoned except where women happen to be the leaseholders.

So, in spite of the few synthetic qualities on the surface, none of the enthusiasts for Greenbelt expects life to be much different there from what it is in the majority of American communities where the "modest income group" predominates. As elective councils gradually take hold and the tenants of Greenbelt gradually pay back the initial town building cost to the Government—at rental rates of some \$400,000 yearly, not including business rents—even the present regulating authority of the RA will in time be withdrawn and the citizens will find themselves increasingly charged with responsibility for their own rules and regulations. In fact, the chief anticipated difference is that there will be in Greenbelt more civic convenience for less money.

Greenbeltians will live in their comfortable and weather-tight houses, within easy walking distance of prac-

tically all known human pleasures—except of the strictly metropolitan variety—cooled by the country wind in summer and warmed by their central, oil-heating plants tended by "community janitors" in winter. If they miss anything, it will be the opportunity, which contrasts between the fairly rich and the very poor afford two classes in most American communities, to entertain captious and sometimes rather exciting suspicions and opinions of each other. For these phases of civil emotionalism, however, Greenbelt folk will have to look to Roy S. Braden, whom the Resettlement Administration is importing from Arlington, Virginia, as Town Manager. He will receive \$6,500 a year and will inherit, as some skeptics of the Greenbelt brand of enforced "normalcy" have intimated, a considerable spot.

All around Greenbelt stretches the natural adornment which gives it its name—11,000 acres of forest, scrub timber, and meadowland—the "green belt" which will provide every resident the chance to cultivate his own strip of land, and more than that, the assurance that escape into the open country never lies far from his doorstep.

Editor's Note: *The second article in the series begun last month by Resettlement Administrator Rexford Guy Tugwell will appear in an early issue of CURRENT HISTORY*





THE WAILING WALL IN PALESTINE
 "Look! Now the English are wailing. We shall never get through with that one little wall. We must build another."

—*Il Travaso, Rome*

IN PALESTINE
 Englishman: "If you won't respect my prestige, you might at least leave my kilt alone."

—*Mucha, Warsaw*



THEY SAY:

sometimes important . . . often amusing . . . always authentic

IN a pamphlet *Race and World Power*, Johann Ernest Scholz, member of the *Rassenamt* (Racial Office) of Hamburg, writes the following:

"Mackerel which are taken from the sea along the German, Norwegian, and Dutch coasts, and which live in the North Sea, are distinguished from French and Russian mackerel by characteristics which one can remark at the first glance. The Nordic mackerel are larger and fatter, while those which live in the south are smaller and thinner.

"In the neighborhood of Jutland, we have observed a mongrel mackerel (product of the union of Nordic and Baltic-Slav mackerels). The fishermen draw them in only half-heartedly, for this mackerel has a hard flesh. However, one uses it to feed larger fishes as well as the octopuses which we have in our zoological gardens.

"As is evident, the crossing of the different races of mackerel is dangerous for the Nordic mackerel, which may finish by being absorbed by the useless race of Oriental mackerels."

—From *Neue Weltbuehne*, Prague.

◆ ◆ ◆

How Admiral Okada Escaped Death

It was almost miraculous that Admiral Okada escaped death at the hands of the rebels. His brother-in-law was killed in his place and he himself was able to leave his house only through the devotion of his secretary, M. Tagayasu Fukuda. Here is M. Fukuda's story:

"I begged the soldiers who were guarding the door of the Presidency to let me enter. 'To his secretaries the Prime Minister was a real father' I explained, 'and if you have samurai sentiments, you will let me see the re-

mains of my father.' My request was granted.

"I went in with the admiral's son-in-law. At that moment, a policeman approached me and whispered in my ear, 'When you see the corpse, do not be afraid.' I thought he meant that the Prime Minister had been disfigured.

"I went into the chamber and I saw the body on the bed. You will understand my surprise when I saw that it was not Admiral Okada. One of the insurgents asked me, 'Is this really the Prime Minister?' I replied in the affirmative. A portrait of the admiral was thrown on the bed, but as the glass was broken, one could not distinguish the features.

"Two chambermaids came up to me, but they said nothing and only broke into sobs. I went home and thought about a way to save the Admiral.

"When I again got into the death chamber, the guards were not so strict. So I asked one of the servants to point out to me the hiding place of the Prime Minister. Without saying a word, she pushed open a closet door and I saw the Prime Minister. I told him to be patient. Going back home again, I prepared a floral wreath for the bier. The policeman, who had hinted to me that the Prime Minister was still living, had worn a mask like surgeons wear during operations. I went to the Presidency again with a dozen people, carefully selected. I managed to slip into the hands of Admiral Okada some glasses, an overcoat and a mask. Then I went out, accompanied by the Prime Minister. The policeman cried, 'I told you that the spectacle of the dead man would upset you.' Then he called an auto. The sentinels said nothing, thinking that my companion was ill. The auto bore us off, and thus the Admiral was saved."

—Osaka Mainichi, Osaka.

Madam Blum

Madam Leon Blum accompanies her "comrade-husband" everywhere. She accompanied him to the meeting at the Velo d'Hiver, followed him up on the platform, lifted her fist in salute as he did, joined her voice to his in the strains of the *Internationale*. And when he saluted the crowd, she did likewise. * * *

Madam Blum only leaves her husband's side when he makes a speech. At such times, she stations herself at the foot of the rostrum, fol-

lows his slightest gesture with an attentive eye, weighs every word.

When he leaves the rostrum, and comes down sweating, she wipes his brow, makes him put on his overcoat, gives him a hot drink.

Just like a manager tending his boxer, after a fight.

When he goes to meetings or public rallies, M. Blum uses a little proletarian Citroen.

But Madam Blum is the one who sits at the wheel.

—*Candide*, Paris, June 11, 1936.



THE NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT MOVES IN

—NEA Service

Tolerance in Russia

Among Stalin's new reforms in the shape of a Constitution for Russia, one that pleases the Russian people is that on religion. Although the Soviets sought to destroy religion, it is triumphing in spite of all attacks upon it, and the wonder is that Mr. Stalin recognizes this. Mr. Stalin found his authorization for the change in a speech once made by Lenin, in which the founder of Russian Communism said it was just to consider religion as an idea and personal sentiment that could not be forbidden. From this came Stalin's formula that "religion can only be practiced insofar as it does not interfere with Communism." Thus religion enters a stage of toleration in Russia.

—Nicolas Zvorikine in *l'Economiste Français*, Paris, June 6, 1936.

Radio Torpedoes

Commandant Tryggve Gran, of the Norwegian Army, has just returned from a military-study tour through Italy, Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, and Abyssinia. In an interview with one of our reporters, he says he has seen, among other things along the Italian and Libyan coasts, airplanes furnished with an apparatus which can direct torpedoes by radio. The radius of action of these airplanes will be 7,000 kilometers. According to Commandant Gran, 600 airplanes of this kind will be ready to go into action at different places along the coasts of Italy and Libya. The invention of this apparatus, certain to play an important rôle in war aviation, is the only one, among the discoveries more or less fantastic attributed to Marconi which is really existent.

—*Tidens Tegn*, Oslo.

THE EUROPEANS HAVE A WORD FOR US

On what is the United States' *RECOVERY* based? Is it a fire of straw or does it come from profound changes in general economic tendencies? Two distinct causes are traceable.

Government spending has produced some activity. The enormous sums obtained by borrowing with such ease are astonishing to us. Yet compared with European countries, America's debt is not large, with the margin remaining comfortable. The policy of Government subsidies can continue as long as the Government can borrow. Another major reason is that the depression has largely spent itself with a resultant process of liquidation. The nation's work implements have not really been renewed. Needs are accumulating that must be met. Is the tide turning?

Action was started by the manna dished out by the President. But this process cannot be sustained any more than an automatic starter can run a car. In the long run, any policy that impairs the nation's credit goes against real recovery. American business men are demanding a return to liberal economics that would create the necessary confidence to defreeze the immense deposits accumulated in banks and now inert. But the mass of public opinion seems won over to a continuation of governmental grants. It is even said to be susceptible to dangerous panaceas like that of Dr. Townsend. The trend one feels everywhere is to restore, by no matter what means, the public purchasing power to absorb a production still likely to become a super-production.

America is in a race between the convalescence of a body and the many follies and imprudences that it is thought can be committed to bring about its complete cure.

—From a paper read by André Siegfried before the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, Paris, March 15, 1936.

While the victory of the *KANSAS GOVERNOR* is of political interest, it is truly piquant when looked at from the human angle. It certainly is a great triumph for the technique of modern propaganda. We were of the opinion that in order to be elected in the United States to a high post, one must be widely popular. What is popularity? It is not synonymous with exceptional merit or talent, nor necessarily with a great reputation. A popular person is he whose name, for one reason or other, is carried on the lips of the multitude. Popular is the hero Lindbergh, popular is Roosevelt, and popular is Charlie Chaplin. But popular is also a certain reformer-charlatan, an empty demagogue, or an ignorant proprietor of a world-famous trade mark. Generally speaking, popular is he who succeeds to distinguish himself from the hundred millions mass of Browns and Murphies * * *

Hence, in the United States it was a plausible thing several years ago to suggest Henry Ford for the Presidency, notwithstanding that he couldn't tell the difference between Albania and

Albany, or to regard Father Coughlin, the priest who is broadcasting inflammatory speeches against the wealthy and privileged, as a serious opponent of President Roosevelt.

It now transpires that modesty, silence and utter benightedness, too, are capable of serving as a lever to a great national career. In but two or three weeks, nay, in only a few days, the virtuoso-skill of the electing agencies will create popularity for an anonym, and, what is the more remarkable, it will be done honestly, without charlatantry.

Who is Landon? He is Governor of the agricultural State of Kansas. Beyond the border of that State—and perhaps of a few neighboring States—the public has not had the slightest conception of him. And what does the public know of him now? Very little: Governor Landon loves children, is a man of few words, like Coolidge, and prefers to see life flowing evenly, without interference on the part of external factors, such, for example, as human thought and human will * * *

It is of such qualities that the Landon myth has been created. His supporters took hold of what we might call secondary symptoms of fame and made them the seed of real fame in the picture. Supposedly, we are interested in the desk at which he has labored, in the chair in which he has rested, in his personal photo and that of the house in which he was born. The American has a bright idea that things could be worked the other way round—from things to man.

Cleveland, which during those several days assumed the aspect of the capital of Republican America, has been subjected to the uncanniest hypnotism of objects and symbols. It so happens that the State emblem of Kansas has in it the insignia of a sun-flower, so in every button-hole at the convention a sun-flower was sported * * * It was discovered that Landon is very fond of the war-song *O, Susanne* so the Italian orchestra leader of the hotel where the Landon staff was quartered tells that during those few days he was called upon to play that song no less than 800 times * * * And countless are the photos of the candidate, thousands of them, from his earliest days to the present time, and also photos of his home, his dog, and his nurse. One of the European correspondents even thought that the Cleveland convention was not so much of a political gathering as it was a carnival, and he was not far from the truth. For that happens to be the American taste: boyish pranks perpetrated on very serious occasions * * *

—*Postlednia Novosti* (Russian language paper), Paris, June 13, 1936.

An Arab Complaint— And A Warning

"The Fatherland is in danger."

These words should lead to a concentration of the whole national force in any independent country, awake its feelings of independence. This goes for Palestine, too.

This means: Let us prepare to find the road which will let us save our country and to combat the danger. What should a desperate man, the knife at his throat, do in a case like this? We are in just the situation of such a man: it is a question of life or death with us!

O Jews! Palestine is not a country which one can reduce to slavery! O Zionists! Palestine is not a cemetery!

The inhabitants have revolted several times and have shown that they are men! The courageous spirit of these men is not dead! Palestine is not a slave market! Even in its sufferings, the protection of Allah will cover it and its people who suffer in silence, in the face of another race which fights it, and which is its sworn enemy, and which wishes to drive it from its native soil!

We have attracted the attention of the Government to the natural consequences of suppression and privation. Nothing is more true than that Palestine can keep silence, but it will not keep silent forever.

She can and will awake! The past proves this.

The Government well knows this.

We address ourselves to men of good will: Don't continue to play politics! Don't turn your eyes from the will of the people! Do not say: There is a Balfour Declaration.

Above everything, there is the honor and sovereign right of a people. Does England wish this evil situation to continue?

We think that the answer will only be in the negative. We have lost patience. We no longer wish to let them mock at our rights. England! Watch out for your honor! If you don't we are ready to settle our accounts by ourselves!

—*Ah-Difeh* (Arab nationalist paper), Jaffa.



How to Stop Hitler

If France, England, Russia, Sweden, and Spain wish, they can stop any Hitler or Mussolini from making war by depriving them of merely iron ore, manganese, and bauxite. I defy the contrary to be proved.

—Paul Faure in *Le Populaire* (Socialist), Paris.

Italy Needs Raw Materials

Italy, rejuvenated by the Fascist régime, has made great strides in its agriculture. Large tracts of land, whose cultivation was barely begun by former sovereigns, are now worked to capacity by the Fascists under an extensive plan. This includes reforestation and drainage. The variety of Italian industrial and other productions; the place occupied by small- and medium-sized industry; and the extreme sobriety of the people, offset the world depression for Italy until 1934. Considering its difficulties since then, manufacturing Italy has done well. The country needs raw materials and markets. These are not in the Italian Colonial Empire, which is poor in natural resources. Economic imperialism is, therefore, pushing Italy to expand in "Ethiopia, the Near East and North Africa."

—Michael Carsow in *Journal des Economistes*, Paris, April 1936.

Badges, Emblems, And Intrigue

The sale of badges in general constitutes a respectable revenue which flows into the treasuries of the societies which use them. Such is the case, also, of one of the most important patriotic Hungarian leagues which has recently issued a badge of the "Patriotic Sorrow"—a new and popular ornament for the buttonhole. Well, it has been discovered that this little symbol, manufactured on a large scale, carried the revealing mark, "made in Germany." Doubtless for reasons of business rather than of patriotism this very patriotic league has furnished these from Germany. Thus German industry and not the Hungarian unemployed profit from this well-paid "sorrow" *** Some suggest, now, apropos of this news, that there is a deep significance in it. They suggest that all the patriotic sorrows and



THE FAVOURITE

"Understand—ride hard, ride straight, and ride to lose!"

—Daily Herald, London

troubles of Hungary have always borne the manufacturing mark of Germany.

Pesti Paplo, Budapest.

Recently one noticed in the streets of Vienna young men wearing a curious badge in their buttonhole. On close examination, it bore the arms of Abyssinia, with the Lion of Judah. Those who wear it are confirmed Nazis who, since they do not dare wear the badge of their German comrades, thus show their disapproval of the politics of the Austrian Government.

—*Neuigkeitsweltblatt (Vienna).*

Chinese circles in Tientsin were considerably stirred May 22, when the news became known that two employees of the Native Goods Store on Pei Ma Lu in the Native City were illegally carried off by the nationals of a "certain country" (Japan) on Thursday night, May 21. The two salesmen are Chao Ao-lou and Lu Chun-chieh. The incident was learned to have occurred owing to the objections by "certain quarters" that one kind of shirts sold in the store bears the trade mark of a girl holding an umbrella. The "certain quarters" consider the idea as representing the "resistance against the Rising Sun," and therefore anti-Japanese.

China Weekly Review, May 30, 1936.

Drugs: Death No Deterrent

While the Chinese authorities, in a desperate effort to rid their country of the opium and dope-traffic, executed 964 persons last year for violating the anti-drug and anti-opium laws, the Japanese at the same time were pushing the trade in both opium and narcotic drugs *** According to the official reports of Stuart J. Fuller, American delegate to the League of Nations Opium Commission, Japanese subjects operate drug factories practically everywhere, in Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankow, and as for the puppet state of Manchukuo, the narcotic trade is not only legalized, but is officially propagated among the people.

*** The Chinese have shown their good faith in trying to restrict the trade by enforcing drastic punishment on violators of anti-drug laws. They not only registered more than a million and a half addicts who are being treated for the habit, but executed nearly a thousand law violators last year. But the futility of enforcement of such draconic regulations in the face of Japanese propagation of the traffic should be obvious. China might as well capitulate to the Japanese drug traffic, because it is foolish to take up the time of the courts and firing-squads merely to reduce the number of Chinese customers of Japanese drug-peddlers. It is a futile process, because the Japanese, by making the

drugs available everywhere and using subtle methods of propagation, can create more addicts than China can discover and kill off in a reasonable period of time.

*** The trade has now reached a point where it is beginning to menace the Occident, particularly the United States. It is significant that those apologists for Japan who argue that the country should be given a free hand in the Orient always conveniently overlook Japan's participation in the narcotic trade.

—*China Weekly Review, June 6, 1936.*



Jobless: Can't Be Coaxed

The Honorable Deputy Larsen (replying to a Minister in the Danish Parliament): "I will read you gentlemen an advertisement which I placed regularly in the *Aalborgs Amtstidende* over a four-month period in order to engage some agricultural laborers. My advertisement has remained without any answer, in spite of the attractions offered in it, as follows:

'One hundred and forty thousand unemployed are perishing, it seems, in our country. Well in our region of Lundbaeck-Avisgaard and Bislow for some months I have been trying to engage 4 good agricultural laborers whom I shall pay 650 crowns a year, full board and lodging in healthy and spacious apartments, provided with running water, (both hot and cold), electricity, gas, bathroom, individual water-closets. These apartments include dining room, sitting room, two bedrooms each. Radio installed. All labor is done by tractors and electric machines.'

"There, gentlemen, is the ad which I had appear for four months now without obtaining a reply from a single applicant. To remain unemployed under these conditions, you will admit, gentlemen, one must want to remain unemployed."

—*Politiken, Copenhagen.*



Turkey Feels Better

In the future the Republic of Turkey's main objective is to balance its agriculture with a national industry without injuring its economic structure. Our economic policy is to simultaneously increase production and consumption. Turkish recovery is proceeding, thanks to measures taken by the Turkish Government. Compared with the preceding year, 1935 was a far more prosperous and sane one for our economy and finances.

—Annual Report of the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic, Ankara, Turkey, May, 1936.

Marriage and Divorce in Russia

So-called "free love" is bourgeois through and through, and has nothing to do with either socialist principle or with the ethics and habits of the Soviet person. It is inconceivable that a lad marrying five times in the course of one year should yet enjoy the respect of Soviet youth, and it is equally inconceivable that a girl fluttering from husband to husband with the agility of a butterfly should enjoy that same respect. Such "men" and such "women" deserve nothing but the contempt of society.

The Soviet Government has no intention of meddling in the private lives of its citizens; but it will permit no one to forget that fatherhood and motherhood are among the established virtues in Sovietland.

—*Pravda*, U.S.S.R., May 28, 1936.

Young Zuyeva declared that a stop ought to be put to divorces instigated by the Party committees themselves. Often enough, husband and wife live together in love and friendship, until it is discovered suddenly that the husband's father was a counter-revolutionary, or that the wife's mother was the daughter of a clergyman. In that case, the Committee orders that the two divorce, thus causing untold misery and tragedy.

Student Nikitina pointed out that respect for family life should first be cultivated by the administrators themselves. As matters stood until now, they seemed to have been wholly unconcerned about the natural need of husband, wife, and children to be housed under one roof, and it meant nothing to them to order the husband to work in one city and the wife to another city. And when they were asked to look into the situation from the family angle they only replied with a sneer.

—*Pravda*, U.S.S.R., May 28, 1936.



"Gypsies, Unite!"

A strong race-consciousness has lately become manifest among the 250,000 gypsies living in Rumania. Hardly a month elapses without some Romani congress taking place in one part of the country or another. "Gypsies, Unite!" is the slogan of these assemblies at which barefooted, swarthy delegates vehemently protest against motor-car importers, "who ruin the horse-trade," or against jazz-bands and radios "which take away the bread from the mouth of the Gypsy musicians."

—*Balkan Herald*, May, 1936.

Problem in Japan: Women

Japan has long been considered a "man's country" but it will be so no longer if projected revisions to the criminal code become effective. A preparatory commission headed by former Justice Minister Matsukichi Koyama would make the keeping of a concubine without consent of the wife a ground for divorce. * * * The new provision will be the most notable advance in woman's rights since the modernization of Japan began, but that it is apt to cause considerable embarrassment among the wealthy and other members of the upper classes, among whom the keeping of concubines has long been a favorite form of diversion. The *nouveau riche* are especially addicted to it. Often, it is understood, the concubines are not particularly popular with the wives, who would welcome this new power to weed out the least companionable of their husbands' lady friends.

—*Trans-Pacific*, May 14, 1936.

Acting with reserve because of the continuance of the martial law in Tokyo, women's organizations, inspired by the recent "clean election campaign", are nevertheless going forward with their programs with new confidence, says the *Asahi*.

They have changed their tactics, however, and instead of concentrating on the fight for women's suffrage, they will seek social welfare measures, protection of mothers and children, and improvement of the social position of women. * * *

Copying the method successfully used by the women of the city of Aomori to obtain the dismissal of a corrupt city council, women's groups here are organizing the Women's League for Love of Municipality, under the sponsorship of the Women's League for Purification of the Municipal Government.

—*Trans-Pacific*, May 14, 1936.



Want Peace- BUT—

Italy will not provoke any civilized nation or disturb recognized interests, but will resist, with arms ready, any provocation or menace, even from England.

Italy's destruction must come first, and to do this would risk a European conflagration, especially for those who seek to provoke Italy into a war in which 45 million Italians would shed their last drop of blood. They would feel offended to the core by any policy seeking to crush them in the name of justice.

—*Giornale D'Italia*, Rome.

Bad Men

We are responsible for the disorder and anarchy in the world we leave for our successors, so let us at least show them the right road. The right road is to peace. There is no other. Europe, mother of civilization, merits our pity. Let us show it needs no help from England who, with its Dominions, forms a universe apart, nor from Russia whose genius, however great, is a stranger to us. Continental Europe is our land. Let us preserve it from the only danger it faces of destroying itself by the efforts of furious and bad men.

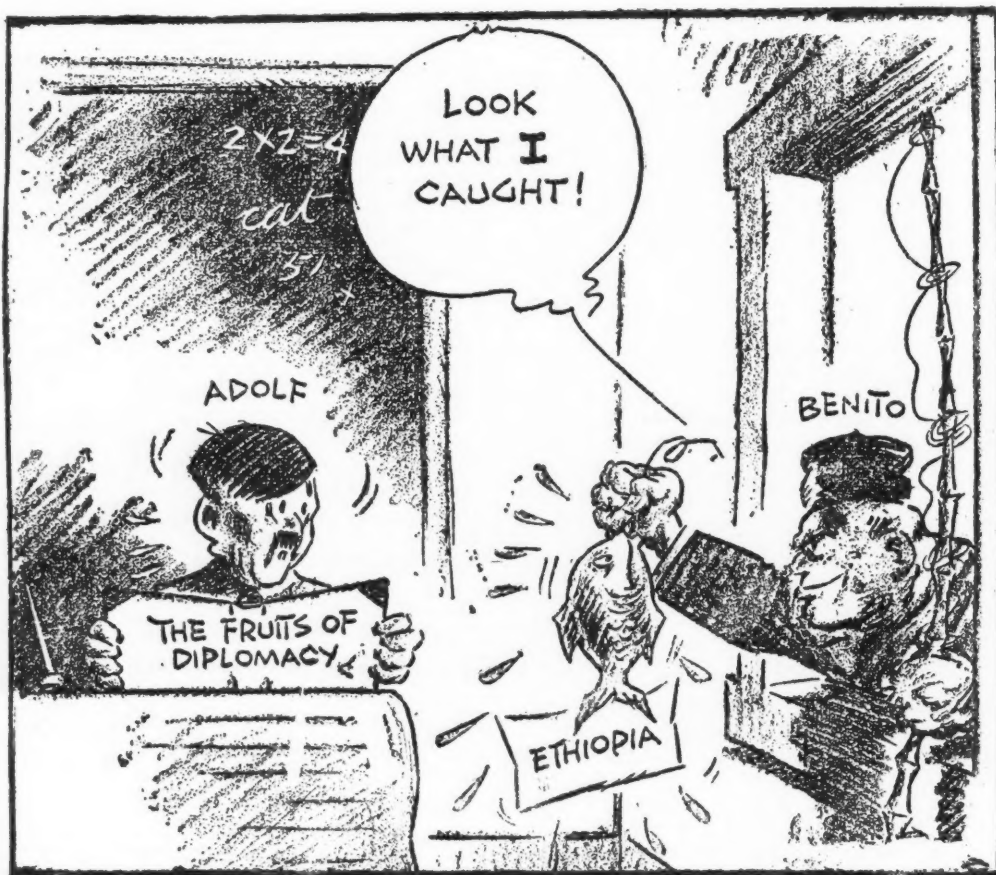
—Mathias Morhardt in *Berliner Monatshefte*, April, 1936.

"Loyalty" Bill in Japan

The authorities have decided to provide strict punishment for the authors and distributors of seditious literature. We support the plan. It is sound reasoning that the Government should take every precaution against dangers to public order, financial normalcy, and military discipline. Enforcement of the suggested law, however, will be a dangerous experiment in itself to some extent as it is liable to violate the provisions of the constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and of press. The law * * * could be easily abused.

The distribution of radical literature unanimously should be checked, but curtailment of this practice is likely to be found a most difficult task.

—Miyako, Japan, May 12, 1936.



HARD TO STAY IN ON A DAY LIKE THIS!

—Glasgow Bulletin

Pushkin—Left or Right?

Our country has no intention of canonizing Pushkin. We are casting aside the pitiful efforts of the vulgar sociologists at embellishing on Pushkin, bolshevizing his personality and making him out as an uncompromising revolutionary. But at the same time we are prepared to unmask and stigmatize the dullards and know-nothings who, in their banal and uncouth way, aver that the poetry of Pushkin, as that of a representative of the nobility, is inherently alien to the proletariat and unnecessary to Socialist culture.

Pushkin is a genius who uncovered the music of our people's language. He has created immortal verse, the beauty of which is eternal and unfading; a deep realist whose buoyant creativeness permeated the life and thought and song of his people. Pushkin, the luminary of Russian poetry, lives in the heart of all the peoples of Sovietland.

—*Izvestia U.S.S.R.*, June 6, 1936, commemorating the 100th anniversary of Pushkin's death.

Norway Reports

Financial developments in Norway in the first part of 1936 are comparatively favorable. The Norges Bank in its first statement showed a foreign currency reserve of more than 100 million kroner, compared with 56 million kroner at the same date last year. The foreign exchange balance of private banks is good. Our trade balance is satisfactory and so is tourist traffic. Norway's credit rates well abroad and the internal money market is easy. National finances show a favorable trend. The budget estimates for 1936-37 show an increase of about 42 million kroner due to proposed increases in grants for public works, subsidies to trade and industry, and aid to municipalities in difficulties. This will increase the national debt by 18.7 million kroner, but there will be no new taxes. Increased revenue will come by bringing under the tax laws savings that have evaded assessment up to now.

—*Norwegian Trade Review*, Oslo, February, 1936.

A PLEA FOR SPIRITUAL UNITY

As the unique remedy for the wrongs springing from contemporary international anarchy, I do propose a *CULTURAL LEAGUE OF NATIONS*. This new League, based upon the deep understanding and sincere appreciation of all national cultures, has to fulfill the lofty mission of prevailing upon the dismembered humanity to integrate themselves again into a dynamic harmonious whole. * * *

Japan as a nation *par excellence* desires to awaken the whole world to the universal consciousness that all the nations are the different sprouts of one and the same tree of humanity. Be it recalled in this connection that the same spirit and truth was revealed by the First Tenno Jimmu in his grand Edict concerning the foundation of the Japanese Empire. It says in substance:

"In pursuance of the Universal Way bequeathed by Our Holy Ancestors, We, Sovereign of this Land, should endeavour to enlighten all mankind on the spiritual unity of the world. Then, We shall have to lay the foundation of the Capital to develop this country peacefully into a perfect Family State; at the same time, this sublime ideal should be spread to the Universe, so that disintegrated humanity be converted into a world family." * * *

Our national ideal operates incessantly with

the dynamic process of *Musubi* which may be translated as a heaven-like creatively transforming force * * * Our Manifesto of the NIPPON BUNKA RENMEI, which clarifies the Principle of the Absolute Oneness of Land and Man, refers to *Musubi* in the following manner:

"This *Musubi* is an unceasing dynamic process of creation, assimilation, development and maintenance. Wherever this miraculous power is in operation, no conflict of views, no discord of sentiments, no clash of interests will prevail between the subjective and objective; between mind and matter; soul and flesh; singleness and plurality; state and individuals; urban and rural; capital and labor; liberty and might; the right wing and the left wing; monocracy and democracy; civil and martial; between politics and morality. * * *

I made lately a detailed proposal to the Government to the effect that a Central Federation of Japanese Culture be established and all principal cultural bodies be invited to adhere to such a main organization.

The Federation should take the initiative of organizing the first Universal Congress of Japanese National Culture as a concrete step towards the creation of the Cultural League of Nations I propose resolutely. Then, I should like to induce all other nations to follow the

same example by establishing each a Central Federation of National Culture in such a fashion that all these Central Federations come into close co-operation with the Japanese Central Federation for the realization of their common aim.

Finally, I wish the thinking people of the whole world to understand the unselfish motive of my rather bold proposition with regard to the creation of the Cultural League of Nations and to join hands in attempting to accomplish this grand scheme of humanity.

—Gaku Matsumoto, Member of Japanese House of Peers and president of the Nippon Cultural Federation, in the March (1936) issue of *Cultural Nippon*.



"Menace" in Mexico

To talk, in these days, of "Yankee Imperialism" is childish; it is simply talking about fantastic dangers which do not exist in reality. Another imperialism, more genuine and terrible, menaces humanity, with its numerous and powerful tentacles in parts of Europe, tries to take in its grasp France and Spain, and, here in America, tries to endanger Brazil and Uruguay, and intrigues right here in Mexico in spite of the distance which separates it from us.

Within the United States, capitalistic nation *par excellence*, Russia hatches all kinds of plots to sow red propaganda in the populous centers of industry.

We never tire of repeating it: the proximity of the United States, often so baneful in our history, exercises and will always exercise, great influence on Mexico. "Geography influences history" is no vain statement, and while the northern frontier of Mexico is the same as the southern frontier of the United States, there will be relations between the two peoples: commercial, industrial, social, etc. The one thing we can and must seek for is that these relations be kept within the limits of decorum and mutual respect, conserving and nourishing a friendship of good faith—but with intelligence, honor, and patriotism.

—*Excelsior*, Mexico City, May 22, 1936.



Universe Take Note!

Bulgaria has no intention of repudiating the clauses in the peace treaty it signed. We hope that the victorious countries will take note that Bulgaria is the only country today respecting its treaty obligations, and will do all they can to lighten its burden.

Dnevnik, Sofia, Bulgaria.

America—And China's Iron Horse

As the opening of the first American trans-continental railroads, also constructed by Chinese labor, was responsible for the unification of the United States into one political body, many see similar influences here in connection with the completion of the Peiping-Canton railway. Some forecast that the opening of this railway will enable China to block the Japanese conspiracy to cut off North China.

*** Americans have a special interest in this subject, because they first saw the importance of this railway link and tried to build it, but they failed, and in failing, not only gave American financiers a black eye, but also contributed materially to the delay in the completion of the railway project, which had a retarding effect on China's political unification for more than a third of a century. It probably was just retaliation on the part of the Chinese that no American firm was allowed to supply as much as a single spike in the present work of completing this Chinese transcontinental line. All equipment from rails to rolling stock was supplied by British firms and financed from the British share of the Boxer Indemnity.

*** New York financiers and Washington politicians, instead of building a railway, put over a smart financial deal which netted them a good profit without doing any work aside from the initial survey of the line. *** When the Chinese found out that they had been misled by the New York financiers they raised a row and finally paid the American Development Corporation the sum of \$6,750,000 gold, for its rights and interests. *** It was largely due to the scandal resulting from this enterprise that the construction of this all-important railway, vital to the political unification of China, was delayed for more than a third of a century.

China Weekly Review, May 23, 1936.



Lovers on Strike

The streets of Piraeus, Greece, were covered last month with yellow posters, inviting Eros' supporters to go on strike. The "Syndicate of Lovers", as this organization seems to call itself, demanded the abolishment of laws by which the police pester lovers at night; reduction in the price of cinema and theater tickets for young couples; measures against cruel mothers who prevent their daughters from keeping dates; measures against landlords who do not tolerate their maids having suitors; and [measures against] other similar injustices . . .

Balkan Herald, June, 1936.



KEEPING HIS NOSE TO THE GRINDSTONE

—United Feature Service

Problem for Blum

If Mr. Leon Blum succeeds in transforming his party into a real national governmental party; if he can achieve the governmental task the country expects; if he remains within parliamentary legality and can show true republican authority—he will reform around him all republican troops for a concerted policy worthy of the Republic and France. The nation will be ready to forget certain faults and mistakes of the past.

—*Ere Nouvelle* (Radical-Socialist), Paris.



France Arms Germany?

There has been a lot of talk in the last fortnight of the exportations of French iron ore to Germany.

France is at present the largest supplier of Germany, providing 28% of the whole German consumption.

Suppose that France reduced her shipments by two thirds? She would have reduced the Reich's supply to the level of last year's, and would have paralyzed the progress of her manufacture of implements of war.

—*Vendredi* (Paris).

Feeler For Capital

Is there oil in Yugoslavia? Naphtha—or its characteristic associates, such as natural gases, asphalt, and the like—exists in numerous places in Yugoslavia in various geological formations. All geologists agree that the petroliferous fields of Yugoslavia are worth detailed study, and certain spots hold as much promise as the Galician fields. Their development would justify the entry of big capital, especially in the case of naphtha. Lack of any real effort to make proper borings up to now prevent any real judgment as to Yugoslav oil production in the future.

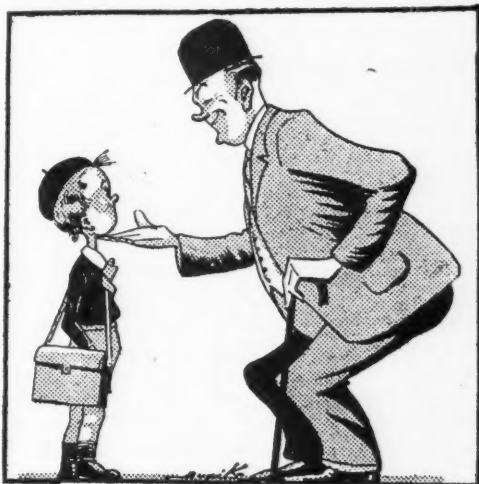
—*South Slav Herald*, Belgrade, May 1, 1936.



Successor to Zaharoff

In London and Paris, no one knows his business. Even in the city no one knows Colonel Norris, "the mystery man of Europe." Who is Norris? His name was mentioned as being that of an expert at the Versailles Peace Conference. Later, his "knowledge of affairs" was said to have enabled him to amass a huge fortune. Norris is one of the richest men in Europe.

In every great financial transaction he appears to have taken a hand. He has become a sort of Zaharoff of the European stock exchanges. They attribute to him the sale of the German Reichsbank loan which, by arrangement with Schacht, he was said to have put over in Paris. He was, they say in Paris, the man who tried



EDUCATION OF FRENCH YOUTH

"What are you going to be when you grow up?"

"A striker."

"Good! You will be a credit to your parents and the honour of your country."

—Il 420, Florence.

to give the death blow to the franc. On account of that exploit, he and his clique were expelled from France. It is a fact that his expulsion from France caused a debate in the British Parliament, during which certain members of the House of Commons asked for official intervention in behalf of Norris in France.

—*Wiener Sonn- und Montags Zeitung*, Vienna.



How Venizelos Died

Venizelos, whose Italian-aided revolt last year brought Turkish troops to the borders of Greek Thrace in a hurry, died, as it now turns out, of the effects of violent over-excitement occasioned by a genuine old-style table-thumping row with Titulescu at the Rumanian Legation in Paris, just after the German invasion of the Rhineland.

Titulescu, just arrived in Paris in a hurry, had announced the Balkan Entente would stand by the Little Entente according to its obligations in the event of trouble with Germany in the north and Italy in the south. Venizelos dashed around to the Legation and saw Titulescu in the presence of Herriot. Venizelos, hammering the table and running his blood pressure up to dangerous heights for a man of his age, declared Greece could not face a war with Italy.

Fuming, with the blood pressure still soaring, he returned home and died of excitement.

—*The Week*, London.



Vitamins Cure All

Some of the world's leading trade experts see vitamins as a big factor to stimulate business here and in the world. This is roughly the theory: Higher standards of nutrition will help solve the plight of agriculture in any country because more vitamin consumption will increase purchases from farmers who, in turn, will naturally want more manufactured goods. And since they say the world's trade troubles cannot get better before the purchasing power of the agricultural countries is improved, their idea, if it works, may prove a windfall from an unexpected source for the producers of milk, vegetables, fruits, eggs, wheat, or sugar. It sounds pleasant, anyway, even if it hasn't been tried.

Last year, the League of Nations' interest in the subject was aroused, and America was one of twelve countries that voted to put it on the agenda. Now surveys are going on, and we may yet hear how such things as little vitamins helped solve our own and others' farm problems and even promoted business all around.

—*World Trade*, Paris, 1936.

They Go Shopping in the Soviet

In Moscow on the corner of the Mayakov Square and Gorki Street, they recently opened a large dress-goods store, and decorated its show-windows with an assortment of material that is truly unusual as to both quality and color. But in vain do customers attempt to gain admission into that store. At its wide open entrance there are stationed two porters who won't let anyone through. "The doors are ajar for ventilation purposes only," they explain, "and the public may only enter through the rear door."

At the rear, the crowd is always huge, lined up in a queue. About midnight, of every day, there suddenly appear in the vicinity of the store a certain few. One of the group takes out of his pocket a pencil and a sheet of paper and writes down his name. The others register their names in turn, establishing thereby their right to next-in-line.

This sheet is posted at the gate, for subsequent arrivals to add on their names. By the following morning, at the opening of the store, the line is already interminably long.

The procedure, needless to say, cuts the working man out; but it provides ample opportunity for the manipulations of speculators. And is any one fighting against these queues and speculators?

"No," they told us at the store. "We are unable to do anything about it ourselves, and our repeated appeals to the Tenth Militia Headquarters resulted in nothing."

This dry-goods establishment is not the only transgressor in this respect, and you may behold the same picture on passing by the leather-goods store. There, too, mysterious persons—"first customers," so to speak—appear as early as 10 or 11 o'clock the night before, and by morning the queue is several hundred people long. There, too, the business is transacted through the rear door, the main entrance being shut and guarded by a white-liveried porter. "Citizens," he informs those as yet unfamiliar with the local routine, "this is no entrance and you must go to the rear if ever you wish to enter the store."

—A letter to *Pravda*, U.S.S.R., by A. Morozov.

Pravda directs the attention of the Moscow Soviet and of the People's Commissar for Home Commerce, Comrade Weizer, to the unseemly practice complained of in the letter. The editorial office of *Pravda* hopes that energetic measures will be employed by the Moscow

Soviet and the People's Commissar, with a view to liquidating such distortion of principle in Soviet commerce.

—Editorial acknowledgment by *Pravda*.



Ode to An Olive

The olive has been regarded since ancient times as the tree of peace and the emblem of plenty. Its branches were used as the triumphal crown awarded to victorious heroes, and for centuries the roots of the olive tree have spread the substance of human kindness in the mythologies and religions of Mediterranean origin.

The olive's oil has also long been symbolic of high virtues, and served as valuable food.

The Israelites used it in their Sabbath rites and sacrifices and attributed its taste to manna.

"Thou shalt command thy children that they bring thee pure olive oil, to cause the lamp to burn always," it is written in Exodus. The wise men of Palestine were called "Sons of the oil," because it produces the light of redemption.

The production of olive oil in the principal producing countries is as follows:

Yearly Average 1927-31 (in millions of kilogr.)

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|----|-----|
| Spain | 402 | or | 47% |
| Italy | 198 | " | 23% |
| Greece | 85 | " | 10% |
| North Africa | 69 | " | 8% |
| Portugal | 61 | " | 7% |
| Other countries | 49 | " | 5% |

—From an official Spanish Government report by the Oficina del Aceite, Madrid, June 1936.



INVITATION TO WHAT?

It is suggested that Prince Otto is not so keen to accept the Austrian throne, after all.

—Glasgow Record

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, June 11--July 12

DOMESTIC

JUNE 13—Estonia, Latvia, and France notify United States they will default on war debts.

Georgia Supreme Court upholds chain-gang sentence of Angelo Herndon, Negro communist, ruling that 1871 Insurrection Law under which he was sentenced violates neither State nor Federal Constitution.

JUNE 14—International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, with 200,000 members, announces that it will support the reelection of President Roosevelt.

JUNE 15—War Veterans received \$1,500,000,000 in Government bonds.

Vote on the anti-lynching bill is demanded by 218 members of the House of Representatives, who present petition.

Harry Hopkins, WPA Administrator, reports that New Jersey's failure to provide relief for "unemployables" caused "starvation and disease."

United States Fifth Circuit Court at New Orleans rules that National Labor Relations Board has no power to regulate relations of employer and employee in manufacturing.

JUNE 16—Jones & Laughlin's steel contract canceled by Secretary of Interior Ickes; steel company found guilty of unfair labor practices by National Labor Relations Board.

House of Representatives passes substitute bill for invalidated Vinson-Guffey Coal Bill; passes the Wagner Slum Clearance and Low-Cost Housing Bill.

Woman and two men flogged in Eastern Arkansas because of sharecropper sympathies.

Drive to purge Black Legion members from public payrolls is begun in three Michigan communities.

JUNE 17—Father Coughlin, crusading priest, proposes third political party.

Senator Fletcher of Florida dies.

Mrs. Dorothy Guthrie, who informed on Black Legion in Detroit, is severely beaten.

Glaucoma, painful eye disease, successfully treated by hormone from the adrenal gland.

JUNE 18—Securities and Exchange Commission asks adequate laws to protect investors and trustees.

Governor Landon of Kansas, Presidential

nominee, convenes State Legislature to initiate amendment to Kansas Constitution permitting the State all benefits under Federal Social Security Act.

Fourteen men wounded in riot at Kent, Ohio, precipitated by forty strike-breakers. Rifle and pistol fire lasts six hours at electric company plant.

Southern sociologists speaking at the University of North Carolina warn that economic solutions will not prevent Southern revolt against *status quo*.

JUNE 19—Representative William Lemke announces his candidacy for President as the head of new Union Party; Father Coughlin indorses him.

House of Representatives passes compromise tax bill.

House of Representatives passes strike-breaker bill, making it a felony to transport strike-breakers across State borders.

General MacArthur announces that Philippine Commonwealth has drafted defense plan calling for \$8,000,000 yearly expenditure for ten years.

JUNE 20—United States Senate passes compromise tax bill.

President Roosevelt lifts arms embargo against Italy and Ethiopia; proclaims a state of war no longer exists between the two countries.

Social Security Board approves New York State's old age assistance plan; State will receive \$7,500,000 from the Federal Government.

President Roosevelt signs Robinson-Patman chain-store bill, designed to prevent price discrimination between purchasers of similar quantities and qualities of goods.

Unbroken drought in the great central plains area encourages speculative wheat-buying; price rise 3 cents a bushel.

JUNE 21—Alfred E. Smith, former Democratic Presidential candidate, calls on nation to repudiate President Roosevelt.

Dr. Townsend, old age pension advocate, backs Representative Lemke, Union Party's Presidential candidate.

Seventy-fourth Congress adjourns; the twenty billion dollars it appropriated is a record for all time.

President Roosevelt orders anti-trust action against alleged monopolistic practices in steel industry.

- JUNE 22**—Republican National Chairman John Hamilton promises militant campaign to defeat President Roosevelt.
- Federal agents seize \$1,250,000 gold hoard held by Swiss corporation in New York; seizure valid under terms of Gold Reserve Act of 1933.
- President Roosevelt orders survey to relieve drought-stricken area of South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana.
- Congregational Council of Churches reaffirms action favoring United States' membership in League of Nations.
- JUNE 23**—Democratic National Convention convenes in Philadelphia.
- Attorney General Bennett of New York asks U. S. Supreme Court to reconsider New York Minimum Wage Law invalidation.
- Gasoline tax received by States from motorists during past year totals \$619,000,000.
- JUNE 24**—Senators Barkley and Robinson defend New Deal before Democratic National Convention.
- Three injured and thirty-two arrested after pickets and strikebreakers clash at R.C.A. Manufacturing Company in Camden, New Jersey.
- Attorney General Bennett of New York reports that provisions of New York Public Welfare Law permit Department of Social Welfare to accept and administer Federal funds for child welfare services.
- JUNE 25**—Democratic National Committee indorses platform continuing New Deal under President Roosevelt.
- President Roosevelt signs bill authorizing a maximum strength of 2,320 planes for the Army; signs strike-breaker bill making it a felony to transport in interstate or foreign commerce persons to be employed to obstruct or interfere with the right of peaceful picketing during labor controversies.
- Organizers from the United Rubber Workers' Union beaten by mob at Gadsden, Alabama, prior to attempt to organize Goodyear plant.
- Spring Wheat Belt suffers irreparable damage in continued drought.
- JUNE 26**—Democratic National Convention renominates President Roosevelt by acclamation.
- Strikers and strike-breakers clash at R.C.A. Manufacturing Company in Camden, New Jersey; 12 injured, 24 arrested.
- Justice Jennings Bailey of District of Columbia Supreme Court declares unconstitutional the 1935 Railroad Pension Law and its companion tax measures, providing the levying and collection of taxes to finance railroad men's pensions.
- Economists warn that rising birth rate in South is major problem demanding nation's attention.
- Heat over 100° in Western drought.
- JUNE 27**—John Nance Garner renominated for Vice President by the Democratic National Convention.
- Secretary of Agriculture Wallace warns that free competition in this country must be abandoned in favor of "cooperatives of consumers, of producers, and ultimately of industries."
- Secretary Wallace appoints committee of six to coordinate drought relief work in the stricken areas of West.
- JUNE 28**—Leaders of steel companies announce they will resist attempts to unionize their employees on industrial basis.
- Communist Convention nominates Earl Browder for Presidency, James W. Ford, Negro, for Vice Presidency.
- WPA announces that security wages will remain in force during new program beginning July 1.
- JUNE 29**—Fiscal year ends; Government debt at approximately 34 billions of dollars.
- Breckinridge Long resigns as United States Ambassador to Italy.
- United States Commissioner of Education Studebaker supports the National Education Association's fight to have teachers' oath rescinded.
- President Roosevelt announces that lower tariff duties flowing from reciprocal trade agreements will be withdrawn from Australia on August 1.
- JUNE 30**—Governor Lehman of New York announces that he will be a candidate for re-election, following unprecedented pressure by National Democratic Party at convention to assure his candidacy as aid to Roosevelt in New York.
- Ten American Federation of Labor Unions, comprising 1,000,000 members, are ordered to answer charges that they are seeking to set up a rival or dual organization.
- William Phillips, Undersecretary of State, named Ambassador to Italy, succeeding Breckinridge Long.
- President Roosevelt signs ship subsidy and Government contract bills.
- New York City receives WPA grant of \$36,697,500.
- Sixth United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati rules Congress has no authority to regulate or control relations between employer engaged in manufacture and his employees, unless interstate commerce is directly affected.
- JULY 1**—Members of the Iron and Steel Institute allege that 254,000 of their 275,000 employees voted by secret ballot to retain company unions.
- Philip Murray, chairman of Steel Workers Organizing Committee, asserts that American Iron and Steel Institute seeks to foment trouble in order to alienate public opinion from unionization.
- Bradley Lumber Company of Arkansas files brief before U. S. Supreme Court

- assailing Wagner Labor Relations Act as violating due-process clause of Constitution.
- JULY 2**—Appellate Division of Supreme Court, in Brooklyn, rules unconstitutional the New York State Legislation outlawing suits for alienation of affections.
- Secretary Wallace announces Government will purchase and process cattle forced off Northwest ranges by severe drought. Secretary of Labor Perkins estimates 46,000,000 workers have jobs.
- JULY 3**—Interstate Commerce Commission proposes limiting speed of buses and trucks engaged in interstate commerce to forty-five miles an hour.
- JULY 4**—Works Progress Administrator Hopkins warns that hundreds will need relief in drought area.
- Ex-sailor convicted of espionage in California for selling Navy secrets to Japan.
- JULY 5**—Right Wing Socialists form the People's Party in New York State, with Louis Waldman at the head.
- Minnesota grain crops cut by drought.
- Pennsylvania pledges relief to union steel men who lose jobs in the impending industrial union struggle.
- JULY 6**—President Roosevelt takes direct charge of drought aid as high temperatures cause increased damage.
- John L. Lewis, president of United Mine Workers of America, opens drive for steel unionization in nation-wide radio address.
- United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Paul restrains National Labor Relations Board from investigating unfair labor practices in assembly plant of General Motors Corporation.
- Western drought continues with record heat of 119 degrees.
- JULY 7**—President Roosevelt plans direct drought aid to 134,000 stricken families.
- William L. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, accuses John L. Lewis of blocking plan to organize steel industry.
- Postmaster General Farley takes leave of absence from Cabinet to direct Democratic campaign.
- Industrial union organizers declare no action of American Federation of Labor will stop steel drive.
- JULY 8**—American Federation of Labor announces it will suspend that third of its membership which followed John L. Lewis into industrial unionism.
- Drought victims will receive \$20 monthly doles; WPA will employ 55,000.
- Grain crops in Montana and North Dakota destroyed by heat.
- Secretary of Agriculture Wallace estimates that buying of cattle in drought area will cost \$30,000,000.
- JULY 9**—American Federation of Labor leaders seek compromise with Lewis forces to prevent split.
- Drought areas receive one-year moratorium on rehabilitation loans.
- Philippine High Commissioner Murphy resigns to run for Michigan Governorship.
- John L. Lewis informs President Roosevelt that labor solidly supports his program.
- East Arkansas sharecroppers end farm strike.
- JULY 11**—Report shows National income during 1935 was \$52,595,000,000.
- JULY 12**—Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, preacher and writer, dies at 71.

INTERNATIONAL

- JUNE 11**—South Chinese Armies increase pressure on the Nanking Government to inaugurate anti-Japanese war.
- Dr. Hjalmar Schacht arrives in Belgrade seeking Yugoslavia's grain crop in barter for German goods.
- JUNE 13**—South Chinese Armies prepare for war; Japanese forces are landed in Fukien.
- JUNE 14**—South Chinese Armies retire, after sharp skirmishes, to avoid civil war; Nanking Government hostile to anti-Japanese objectives.
- Gilbert K. Chesterton, author, dies.
- JUNE 15**—British Foreign Affairs Committee decides to recommend abandonment of sanctions against Italy.
- South Chinese forces stalemated by Nanking government's firm stand against anti-Japanese crusade.
- JUNE 16**—King Carol of Rumania announces that Little Entente is fully prepared for unified action.
- Poland reports existence of Nazi terrorism in the Free City of Danzig.
- Chinese authorities suppress anti-Japanese demonstration in Tientsin.
- JUNE 17**—Britain leads fight to abandon sanctions against Italy, while denying policy change.
- Russia reports danger of war with Japan and Germany has lessened considerably.
- JUNE 18**—British Foreign Secretary Eden delivers death blow to League sanctions against Ethiopia amid jeers of House of Commons.
- Maxim Gorky, Russian writer, dies.
- JUNE 19**—Geneva reports move to abandon sanctions has further injured British prestige.
- French Cabinet announces it will terminate sanctions; Italy pleased by move.
- JUNE 20**—Argentine demands League refuse to recognize Italian conquest.
- Prime Minister Baldwin says end of sanctions will avert war.

JUNE 21—Security against Italy in the Mediterranean is the avowed purpose on the eve of the Straits of Dardanelles conference of the League of Nations; Italy and Spain will not be represented. League of Nations announces that United States view on non-recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia will be decisive factor.

Scientific expeditions report over 700 successful photographs of the solar eclipse.

JUNE 22—Britain announces that abandonment of Italian sanctions does not mean recognition of Italian conquest; United States avoids recognition question.

Turkey places claims before League; demands control of Straits of Dardanelles. Action of the Canadian Supreme Court in voiding Unemployment Insurance Act and National Products Marketing Act will be carried to English High Court.

South China authorities threaten break with Nanking Government over anti-Japanese aggression.

JUNE 23—Eight nations led by France and Russia oppose complete capitulation to Turkey's demands on Straits of Dardanelles.

JUNE 24—Report serious skirmishes between South China forces and Nanking Government troops.

Britain and the Soviet split at Dardanelles Straits hearing over rights in Black Sea.

JUNE 25—United States protests to Japan the rough treatment of two Americans by Japanese soldiers in Peiping.

JUNE 26—Haile Selassie arrives in Geneva to press Ethiopia's case before League.

JUNE 27—German Government openly supports movement for independence begun by Danzig Nazis.

JUNE 28—Soviet Union protests intemperate utterances of Makiyama of Japan, who declared that "the Soviet Union ought either to evacuate its armed forces in the Far East or declare war on Japan."

Chinese National Government announces a program of spending which includes \$325,000,000 for military equipment and \$50,000,000 for education.

Alexander Berkman, international anarchist, commits suicide at Nice, France.

JUNE 29—League delegates try to persuade Haile Selassie not to address assembly; he refuses.

Japan formally notifies interested powers

that it will not adhere to 1936 London Treaty; Britain announces escalator clause will be invoked to save excess destroyers.

JUNE 30—Fascisti stage demonstration as Haile Selassie addresses League Assembly.

Austria refuses to attend session of the League.

JULY 1—Powers attending League Assembly are silent on Haile Selassie's question: "What answer shall I take back to my people whom you have promised to defend?"

JULY 2—Pope orders a world drive on indecent motion pictures.

Central Government of China and the South China Government continue troop movements; 1,100,000 involved.

Ethiopia demands League Assembly vote to determine her fate.

JULY 3—Bermuda kills bill to aid United States tax dodgers.

JULY 4—Doctor Greiser, president of the Danzig Senate, orders League to end its surveillance in Danzig; causes uproar at League session by studied contempt.

JULY 5—Italy reported to have fortified an island in the Red Sea; Britain fears loss of trade route.

Haile Selassie quits Geneva; en route to London to plan continued war with Italy.

JULY 6—Italy refuses to participate in discussion of Dardanelles Straits; protests many defensive pacts.

League of Nations powers to end sanctions against Italy on July 15.

South China Government offers to submit peace plan to the Central Nanking Government.

JULY 8—Kwangtung wing of South China's Army quits anti-Nanking and anti-Japanese front; Kwangsi army now stands alone.

Hitler offers pact guaranteeing independence of Austria.

Poland warns Danzig Nazis against any attempts at coup.

JULY 9—Ethiopians cut rail line to hamper Italian communications.

British reduce fleet in Mediterranean to win Italian friendship.

Titulescu of Rumania accuses Britain of supporting collective security and regional pacts at Geneva while sabotaging them at Dardanelles Straits convention.

FOREIGN

Belgium

JUNE 13—New Cabinet is formed by Socialists under Paul van Zeeland.

JUNE 17—Belgian workers strike and force Premier van Zeeland to concede their demands.

JUNE 18—Belgian strike spreads; army is

called out to keep order among 500,000 strikers.

JUNE 20—Antwerp dock strike settled.

France

JUNE 12—French Chamber passes 40-hour work-week bill.

JUNE 13—Automobile and metal workers end strike.

JUNE 18—French Cabinet promises to enforce law dissolving "combat groups and militia."

JUNE 19—Finance Minister threatens to make a drive on hoarding; financial situation grave.

JUNE 22—French seamen strike; hoist Red flags on ships anchored at Marseilles.

JUNE 23—Premier Blum extends Government control over Bank of France; announces that foreign policy will include plan for regional combinations against aggressors within League.

JUNE 29—French Communists demand suppression of fascist party under Colonel François de la Rocque.

JUNE 30—French Chamber supports Premier Blum's suppression of French fascist groups.

JULY 1—French propose to fortify Swiss frontier.

JULY 4—Chamber of Deputies approves Government Board to fix and control price of wheat.

JULY 8—French Communists defy Premier Blum to forcibly eject strikers from factories.

Germany

JUNE 13—*Voelkischer Beobachter*, official National Socialist party organ publishes anonymous letters protesting the degrading position of German workers.

JUNE 14—Terroristic organization, to avenge death of Ernest Roehm in Hitler's "blood purge", reported active in Germany.

JUNE 17—Heinrich Himmler, commander of Nazi Special Guards, and executive head of the *Gestapo* (secret police) is appointed "Chief of the German Police in the Ministry of the Interior."

German war officials state that in case of a naval blockade Germany is invulnerable.

JUNE 29—Dr. Bernhard Rust, Minister of Science, states at Heidelberg to international gathering that Nazi-ism precedes science.

Italy

JUNE 11—Marshal Pietro Badoglio resigns as Viceroy of Ethiopia in order to reorganize Italy's armed forces.

JUNE 16—Italy announces intention of forcing League to rescind its verdict of aggression in the Ethiopian conflict.

Palestine

JUNE 13—Arab-Jewish riots in Bethlehem.

JUNE 19—British Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore promises that Britain will restore peace to Palestine with fair play to all.

JUNE 20—Arabs charge that British policy is responsible for anti-Jewish riots.

JUNE 21—British planes used to aid troops in routing Palestine Arabs. Two British soldiers, twenty Arabs killed in battle.

JUNE 26—Bedouins numbering 100,000 announce they are ready to aid Arabs in Palestine.

Spain

JUNE 16—Thirty-six Catholic churches burned and thirty-four damaged in Madrid; Leftist Government fails to restore order.

JUNE 25—Spanish Socialist majority demands dictatorship of the proletariat.

JUNE 26—Spanish Cabinet votes to expand educational system involving lay teachings in order to nullify doctrines of Catholicism.

JUNE 28—Spanish Government threatens direct action unless employers settle nationwide strike.

JULY 6—Spanish officials order arrest and suppression of all fascist organizations throughout the nation.

Soviet Union

JUNE 11—New Soviet Constitution sets up parliament with two houses; liberty of worship and equal rights for women are also guaranteed; secret ballot to be introduced.

JUNE 27—Soviets report \$600,000,000 annual gold production.

LATIN-AMERICA

Bolivia

JUNE 21—Military elements expel civilian elements from the provisional government; army will control.

Cuba

JUNE 20—President Miguel Mariano Gomez promises immediate amnesty act to terminate prison sentences and encourage political exiles to return to Cuba.

Mexico

JULY 1—Peasants riot in sympathy with striking chauffeurs; police kill thirteen and wound fifty-two; Federal soldiers disarm police.

JULY 2—Capital of Yucatan placed under martial law.

Disobedient?

or—Hard of Hearing?



"Didn't you hear me, son? I asked you to put away your toys."

A CHILD who seems to be disobedient, inattentive or dull may really be unable to hear well. He often assumes a position that favors his hearing. Any habitually unnatural position of his head may indicate impaired hearing.

Parents should watch their boys and girls and observe their response to sounds. Examination of the ears and hearing should always be a part of a child's general health check up — particularly during the pre-school age.

Many children who have hearing defects may be spared lifelong deafness and retarded mental development if ear troubles are promptly detected and receive expert medical care.

Middle-ear abscesses and infections are a frequent cause of deafness. They may result from infections in the nose and throat such as follow common colds, scarlet fever,



measles, diphtheria, and influenza. Enlarged adenoids and diseased tonsils are also a danger to hearing.

Ears should be examined after recovery from an attack of any infectious disease.

Schools equipped with an acceptable type of the phonograph audiometer possess an aid of great value in the early discovery of deafness in children.

There are scientifically constructed instruments that assist hearing; but before selecting one of them, a deaf person should consult an ear specialist. Some people are sensitive and hesitate to use these aids to hearing. No one should feel more sensitive about using a hearing aid than about wearing eyeglasses.

The Metropolitan will gladly mail, free, a copy of its booklet "Hearing." Address Booklet Department 836-K.

Keep Healthy—Be Examined Regularly

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER
Chairman of the Board

~ ONE MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. ~

LEROEY A. LINCOLN
President

© 1936 M. L. I. CO.

—Speaking of Travel—

New World Defers to Old in Canadian Provinces

HIS Majesty's five wards—all girls and still in rompers—of Callander, Ontario, are to be taught French as a native language in keeping with the customs of the people in French Canada. Had the famous babies been born on Cape Breton Island, or even on the Northeastern part of the mainland, it is possible that they would have sung their nursery rhymes in Gaelic. For the Canadians, while loyal to the King and the British Empire, have still managed to nourish the traditions and speak the languages of the countries of their fathers.

Tourists visiting Nova Scotia, for example, often come away with the feeling that the country is the miniature picture of the "old Western Europe" of a century or more ago. Little villages and settlements throughout Nova Scotia seem to be reincarnations on a small scale of old-world England, France, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany. Most of the regions have clung closer to customs, dress, and folklore than their mother countries from whence they came centuries ago; in fact, a larger percentage

of Scots in Nova Scotia speak Gaelic today than in "Auld" Scotland. And on St. Mary's shore, between Yarmouth and Digby, the descendants of the people immortalized in Longfellow's "Evangeline" still speak the colorful patois of seventeenth-century Normandy.

From French to English

Certain sections of old Quebec, too, have been hesitant to allow mechanized progress to rule out the ox-cart, outdoor-ovens, and thatched-roof barns, as typically French as a page from Flaubert. Yet the scene changes quickly, for roads through French Canada often lead unsuspectingly into full-grown old English settlements. This is especially true of the region near Montmorency Falls, where tourists find themselves in seventeenth-century France, only to walk directly into old England of the same period. The setting of the famous Falls is associated with the English reign of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, fourth son of King George III. It was here



MARKET IN MONTREAL: *Old customs, dress, folklore and traditions are still maintained.*

WHERE-TO-GO

HOTEL - RESORT AND TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

Established 1906
FEATURED EVERY MONTH IN EIGHT PUBLICATIONS
OUR GROUP OF QUALITY MAGAZINES
Atlantic Monthly, Current History, The Forum, Harpers
Magazine, Mid-Week Pictorial (2 issues), Nature
Magazine, Review of Reviews and Scribner's Magazine

For space and rates in our departments write to
THE WHERE-TO-GO BUREAU, Inc., 8 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

TRAVEL

NEW ZEALAND AUSTRALIA

TOUR NO. 1...\$399 UP

51-day all-expense tour to Australia, \$399 up, Cabin Class...6 days in Australia. Sail on the speedy *Aorangi* or *Niagara*. The *Aorangi* has larger rooms, extra baths, new decorations. From Vancouver or Victoria in Canada's Evergreen Playground to Honolulu, Fiji, Auckland, Sydney. Connect at Honolulu from California ports, Round trip to Sydney, First Class...\$450 up. All-inclusive tours. Details from YOUR OWN AGENT or Canadian Pacific.

CANADIAN AUSTRALASIAN LINE

Remember—small copy is BIG in Where-To-Go

ORIENT

TOURS \$625 PER DAY

2 MONTHS' TRIP \$376

Round-the-World Tours '515-'639. One-Class "General" ships. Portland to Yokohama \$172, Kobe \$177, Shanghai \$198, Hong Kong \$215, Manila \$215. SEE YOUR TICKET AGENT OR WRITE DEPT 27 STATES STEAMSHIP LINES, Portland, Oregon

Where-To-Go advertising covers N. America—U. S. income taxpayers on \$5,000 and over

WASHINGTON D. C.



The DODGE Hotel
On Capitol Hill - Washington, D. C. Experienced men and women travellers enjoy our "No Tipping" service. \$2 to \$3.



The early receipt of copy is requested

The eight magazines The Where-to-go Bureau uses regularly are all quality publications, and welcome visitors monthly in our best homes and influence quality people everywhere

MAINE

PLEASANT ISLAND

In the Rangeleys



Stream-lake fishing, Trout and Salmon. Reached by new auto road through birches from Oquossoc. Booklet. Weston U. Toothaker, Prop., PLEASANT ISLAND, MAINE

RANGELEY LAKE HOTEL

Private \$500,000 lakeside estate. Elevation 1600 feet. No hay fever. Fine golf course at door. All sports. Dancing, movies. Refreshments. From \$5.00 per day with meals. Cottages. Fishing.

When writing to these advertisers will you please mention The Where-to-go Bureau? It will be greatly to your advantage to do so.

VERMONT

SHANTY SHANE

A Summer Lodge For Families
Golf, Tennis, Water Sports, Good Cuisine. Booklet. Shanty Shane, Ely, Vermont.

Ask Where-to-go Bureau, 8 Beacon Street, Boston, for space & rates in our department

TRAVEL ACCESSORIES

TRAIN SICKNESS



Speed in Comfort

Mothersills

SEASICK REMEDY



Where-To-Go for Sept. closes July 29

The Where-To-Go system influences the people comprising the cream of all Travel prospects. Our advertisers waste no money in presenting their invitations to people who cannot accept.

TEXAS

Free! 
NEW 32 PAGE
PICTORIAL
BOOKLET ON
WHAT YOU'LL SEE IN

TEXAS

DURING THE

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

More than 150 photographs, many in four colors. Send for this pre-view of Texas, then see it all for yourself during the Celebrations. Visit the \$25,000,000 World's Fair at Dallas; the Frontier Centennial at Fort Worth. See San Antonio, Galveston-on-the-Gulf, Houston, Amarillo, El Paso and other points. Come to Texas..

MAIL COUPON

TEXAS CENTENNIAL 16-F
State Headquarters, Dallas, Texas

Please send literature on Texas and Centennial Celebrations to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

at the Royal Duke's old ballroom and banquet hall that dinners were given to the royalty several hundred years ago by the Governor General of Canada.

The Falls of Montmorency, incidentally, are one hundred feet higher than Niagara. The waters plunge sheer downward into a white foamy cataract and rise in a whirlpool dance over the descending cascades to the river surface.

The shores of Quebec offer evidence of the old world at every turn of the waters. The voyage from Niagara down the St. Lawrence through the Thousand Isles is the course used as a gateway to the New World when the French and English were establishing their colonies there.

Customs Not Discouraged

The rôle of the Government in this theater of seemingly contrasting traditions is that of a kindly, interested, and impartial observer. Where French or other populations prevail, no attempt is made to change the language, dress, or customs of the people; in fact, the Government seems to encourage the retention and development of the separate traditions and cultures. This is especially true on Cape Breton Island, where a new national park is now being developed. The site of the park is so situated that the French settlement of Cheticamp is located at its opening, while an established Scottish development is embraced at the park's other extremity.

New National Park

The park will probably be known as the Cabot National Park in honor of the famous fifteenth century navigator and explorer. Stretching over an area of more than 250,000 acres in the northern part of the island, it will be the first national park to be developed by the Government in the eastern and sea coast territory.

Historians as well as tourists and nature lovers will watch the development of the park with interest, for it was on Cabot's discovery of the land while sailing into Aspey Bay in 1497 that England based her claim to territory in the New World. The park can be circled by the new Cabot Trail, built in 1930, which begins at Baddeck and Beinn Bhreagh, summer home of the late Alexander Graham Bell, and leads in a somewhat circuitous route through South Gut, St. Ann, and Englishtown, hugging the Atlantic coastline to Neil Harbor and crossing the

northern part of the island. When the program of hard-surfaced road construction is completed, visitors to the park will be assured of excellent thoroughfares, either through Amherst via New Brunswick, or, if they ship their cars to Yarmouth Harbor, to the gates of the park.

It is interesting to note that free camp sites equipped with water supply, cooking facilities, open fireplaces, and other camping accommodations will be provided for tourists.

One of the fundamental purposes in creating the park was for the retention of the flora and fauna as it existed in its own undisturbed environment hundreds of years ago. Toward this end, plans have been arranged which will see a large shipment of moose to Newfoundland in exchange for caribou. Moose and deer are plentiful in Nova Scotia, but the caribou is practically extinct.

While the national park on Cape Breton Island is rapidly being pushed through to completion, Stanley Park and the Evergreen Playground near Vancouver, British Columbia, are the scene of a number of events held in conjunction with the Golden Jubilee celebration, which continues until September 7. It will be in the wooded wonders of Stanley Park, in surroundings of Old-World gardens and evergreens, that the musical and dramatic festivals will be presented. It is here, too, that exhibits of Hawaiian and Fiji villages, Oriental tea gardens, and displays of Coastal Indian craftsmanship, will be located. Regular trips will be made from Vancouver to the Evergreen Playground, vast stage of scenic beauty and grandeur.

Here and There . . .

Germany's new colossal open-air theater, named "Dietrich Eckart Buhne" after the German poet, will be opened this month in conjunction with the Olympic games. The theater, having a seating capacity of 20,000, will be the scene of a number of specially arranged music, dance, and dramatic programs. Eberhard Wolfgang Moeller, young author, has written a new play which will be presented during the first week of this month. Later in the month, Handel's oratorical work, "Heracles", will be produced.



Latest estimates of increases in tourist population in Europe are: Scandinavian countries, thirty to fifty percent; Russia, thirty percent; Balkan States, twenty-five to thirty-five percent.

Italy, Hungary, and Germany have announced travel cost reductions of from twenty-five to thirty-five percent. Italy's saving to tourists is in the form of an Italian Lire Letter of Credit, which offers an approximate twenty-five percent reduction. In Hungary, the Pengo Travelers Cheques will reduce costs by thirty-five percent, while in Germany, a similar saving for tourists will be effected by the newly announced Reichsmark Travelers Cheque.

Belgrade's first fair, an event of first importance to the Balkans, will be opened in October. The fair, to be held near the new Zemun Bridge of the left bank of the river Sava, will bring together some of the most striking products of the Balkans.

The lowly sewer can hardly be called a thing of grace and beauty to attract tourists, yet thousands of visitors to Paris are touring the city's sewers, famous in fiction and legend as a result of Hugo's "Les Misérables." The trip, made in boats over the sullen darkish waters, is only a mere fraction of the enormous length of the sewers, which measure 600 to 700 miles. The in-

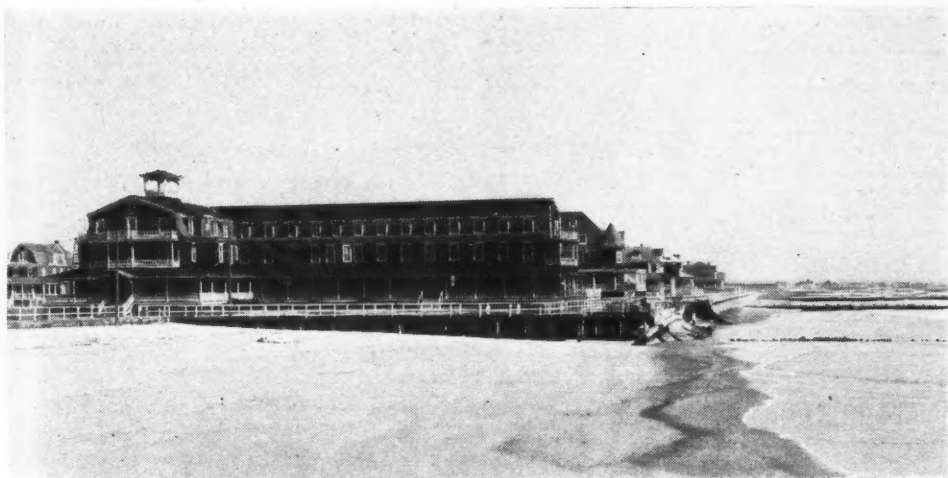
trepid voyagers start beneath the Place de la Concorde and finish up below the Madeleine Church.

Hawaii has always been proud of its schools and educational advancements. The Island had an organized system of schooling even before California, and wealthy "forty-niners" sent their children to Hawaii to be educated. The University of Hawaii, recognized for its distinguished faculty and excellent facilities, maintains summer sessions and is well attended by visiting American students and teachers who find the combination of studies and vacation a happy one.

Golfers who have gone so far as to blame particular altitudes for their failure to keep within hailing distance of par are being referred to Switzerland's courses. There, a golfer can play at an altitude of 5,000 feet above sea level or drop down to a mere 1,000 feet. The rounds at Lucerne, Saint-Moritz, Berne, Geneva, and Interlaken are all pitched at altitudes. If the golfer wishes, he can play in sheer isolation between snow-capped peaks alongside the beautiful lakes of Lucerne or Geneva.

**JUNE
TO
SEPTEMBER**

THE ABERDEEN
Longport, New Jersey



As cool and restful as an ocean cruise

Only twenty minutes from the heart of the World's Playground
and the famous Atlantic City boardwalk.

Apply for rates to ABERDEEN HOTEL, Box 67, LONGPORT, NEW JERSEY



For Every CURRENT H

WILL YOU ACCEPT

Almost Given Away by T

TITLES

SET NO. I

David Copperfield.
Martin Chuzzlewit.
Christmas Carol, The Chimes,
The Cricket on the Hearth,
American Notes.
Great Expectations.

SET NO. II

Oliver Twist.
A Tale of Two Cities.
Pickwick Papers.
Edwin Drood, Old Curiosity Shop

SET NO. III

Nicholas Nickleby.
Little Dorrit.
Sketches by Boz.
Hard Times, Pictures of Italy.

SET NO. IV

Bleak House.
Domby and Son.
Child's History of England.
Uncommercial Traveller, The
Haunted House.

SET NO. V

Barnaby Rudge, Perils of Prisoners,
Master Humphrey's Clock,
Our Mutual Friend.
Christmas Stories and Other Stories.
Life of Dickens and Selected Stories.

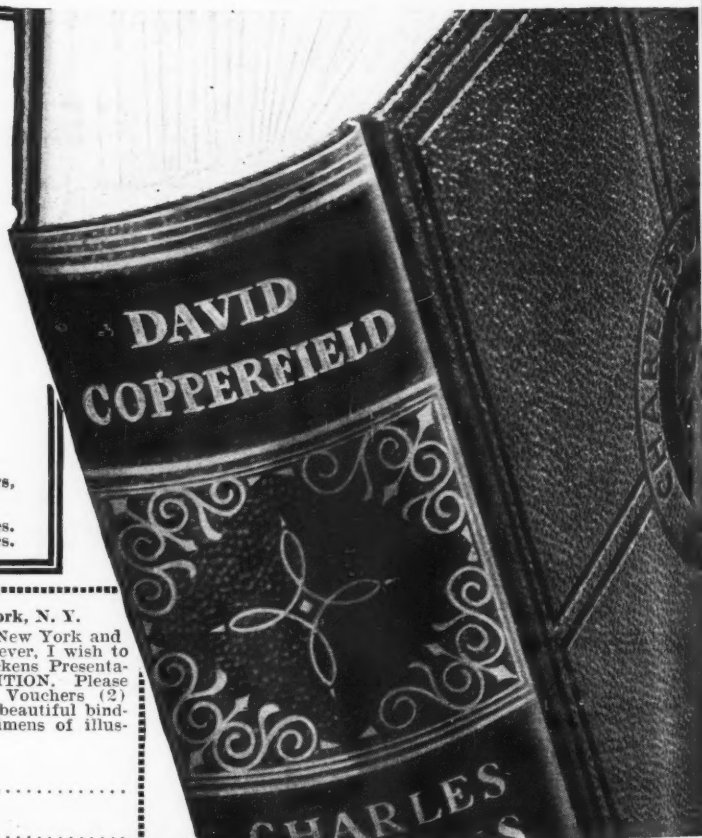
N. Y. POST, 75 West Street, New York, N. Y.

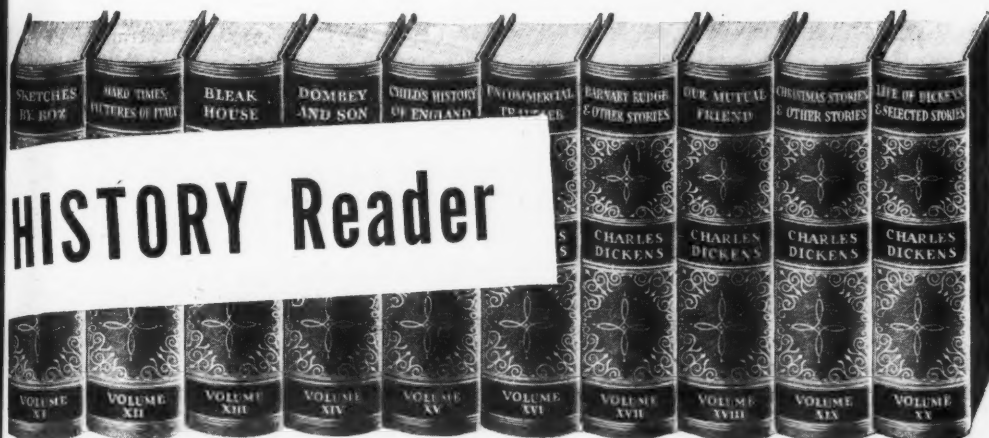
I live more than fifty miles from New York and cannot get the Post each day. However, I wish to take advantage of your special Dickens Presentation Offer in the NATIONAL EDITION. Please send me FREE (1) My Privilege Vouchers (2) Brochure in full color showing the beautiful bindings, portrait of Dickens and specimens of illustrations.

Name

Address

CH-MO





HISTORY Reader

THESE 20 BOOKS

The New York Post

JUST IMAGINE! 20 Superb volumes containing 13,000 pages, 8,000,000 words, weighing over 30 pounds—an incomparable pageant of drama and pathos, comedy and thrills—a thousand nights of endless entertainment—the lifelong companionship of the greatest characters fiction has ever known! Yours almost for the asking! Yours! To read. To treasure. To give to your children. Yours! To add a vital touch of beauty, dignity and distinction to your home.

Incredible as it sounds, such is the amazing presentation offered to you by the New York Post to introduce you to New York's oldest—now newest evening newspaper.

A WORD ABOUT THE BOOKS

Although practically a gift—these 20 volumes are no collection of extracts but the original masterpieces in all their grandeur—authentic and unabridged. And the books themselves are full-library size—each measures 7 1/2 by 5 inches. Every word has been set from new clear-faced type and printed on specially selected paper.

The entire edition is lavishly illustrated and the twenty volumes are being distributed as they come—straight from the presses—in five sets of four volumes each.

IMPORTANT: If You Live More Than 50 Miles From New York

People living in cities far from New York may find it impossible to collect the certificates that appear daily in the New York Post. If you cannot get the Post in your community, do not send the reservation form, but mail the coupon on the opposite page. It will bring you full details on how you can get "The Complete Works of Charles Dickens" in 20 Volumes in the beautiful NATIONAL EDITION.

ALL YOU DO TO GET YOUR LIBRARY

Be sure to get the New York Post today. But the first thing to do in order to secure your library is to fill in and mail the coupon below.

On receipt, you will be sent Privilege Vouchers entitling you to the complete library of 20 volumes. Then your first four volumes will be printed and bound so that they will be ready for you, four weeks from now.

As soon as the first set is in your hands the second set will be put on the press to be ready for you at the end of four more weeks—and so on until your 20 volumes are complete. Each day you will find on Page 2 of the New York Post a numbered Dickens Certificate. You are asked to cut these out daily—until you have 24 Dickens Certificates. Then send in your 24 certificates with 93 cents for each of the complete series of four volumes. Not 93c. for each volume, but 93c. for ALL FOUR VOLUMES.

You may commence to collect your certificates any time within the next few days, but the sooner you begin the sooner will your 20-volume library be in your home. So get the Post today.

OFFER DEFINITELY LIMITED! ACT AT ONCE!

Bear in mind, only a limited number of sets have been set aside for Current History readers. When that quantity is reached no more sets will be available. This is your only chance to take advantage of a most extraordinary opportunity. You will have to act at the earliest possible moment. Be sure of securing these superb volumes for your home and your family—almost as a gift. HURRY! Fill in and mail the Reservation Form NOW!

RESERVATION FORM

To New York Post, Dickens Presentation Department,
75 West Street, New York, N. Y.

I wish to reserve, in accordance with your special offer, a Presentation Library of the Complete Works of Charles Dickens. I understand my library will be set aside for me.

Please send me FREE (1) My Privilege Vouchers to qualify for my Library of 20 Volumes; (2) A Brochure in full color showing the beautiful bindings, portrait of Charles Dickens, and specimens of the illustrations.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....
C.H.

(Continued from page 7)

sellers for many months. *Waterloo*, written by the author of the brilliant *Coronet*, portrays the return of the Little Corporal from his exile in Elba, the march to Paris and regained glory, and Napoleon's crushing defeat at the hands of Wellington. *Eyeless in Gaza*, Mr. Huxley's latest novel, needs no comment: Huxley is Huxley, and few require more in the way of recommendation.

Miscellaneous Reviews

Present day discussions on social philosophies too often make the mistake of assuming that the subject is one peculiar to present-day civilization alone. But in *The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations* (McGraw-Hill, \$4), Joyce O. Hertzler, professor of Sociology at the University of Nebraska, presents evidence to show that practically everything presented today as new in the realm of social thought has been tried, sometimes discarded, sometimes retained, by the ancient civilizations.

Professor Hertzler's work bears the imprint of authenticity and fine scholarship. His survey is based on exhaustive research on actual documentary material, which include funerary writings, legal codes, prophecies, letters, social-ethical and ethical-religious literature, admonitions, precepts and proverbs, and administrative reports and other political documents.

❖ ❖ ❖
The history of the world has been the subject of a great number of encyclopedias and special volumes. In *World History: The Growth of Western Civilization*, (Dutton, \$3.50), R. Flenley and W. N. Weech have collaborated to present in one compact work of 350,000 words the entire panorama of history, from the earliest prehistoric period to the first eras of civilization in China, Egypt, Syria, coastal Arabia, Mesopotamia, and the Punjab, and to the subsequent development of civilization to the point it has reached today. As a review of the world's history, the book is both easily adaptable to ready reference and profitable leisure reading.

❖ ❖ ❖
Those who believe that citizenship should be made real and personal will read *Effective Citizenship*, by Millard S. Darling and Benjamin B. Greenberg (Prentice-Hall, \$1.40) with particular interest. For the authors have dropped emphasis on the form and structure of government and have stressed its functions and problems. The matters of crime, poverty, and occupational questions, for example, figure largely in the book. Comparison is made, too, of the United States with other governments in relation to citizenship. The book is well-written, practical, and carefully thought out.

❖ ❖ ❖
C. S. Duncan proposes an eleven-point plan

for the readjustment of economic transportation problems in *A National Transportation Policy* (Appleton-Century, \$3). The plan calls for adoption of a new and sound transportation policy which would treat the entire problem as a "single, unified" question, including all transportation facilities. Dr. Duncan urges that private ownership and operation of railroads be preserved and supported; that other modes of transportation be forced to submit to the same regulation of rates, service, and safety requirements as the railroads; that the government exercise authority to withhold permission for extension of certain transportation facilities, including "roadways", and that the "Government shall seek to achieve, as fully and as rapidly as possible, fair conditions of competition among all transport agencies and such coordination service as will assure thorough development of all inherent advantages in each agency, a completeness of service, an avoidance of unnecessary duplication, and a general development of a well-balanced, progressive, and efficient transportation system."

It would appear from Dr. Duncan's book that the railroads do not believe that streamlining and other improvements in services and schedules are sufficient to make them self-sustaining. Other forms of transportation—the buses, airplanes, and inland waterways vessels—cut deeply into the normal revenues. The railroads, having to pay for their land and rails, protest the injustice of roadways, airplanes, and waterways which are open to other forms of transportation at less than a fraction of their own costs.

❖ ❖ ❖
Extremely timely, now that the presidential campaign is under way and political oratory is particularly profuse, is *The Discussion of Human Affairs* (Macmillan, \$1.75), by Charles A. Beard, eminent historian and distinguished former contributing editor to *Current History*.

Subtitled his book "An Inquiry into the Nature of the Statements, Assertions, Allegations, Claims, Heats, Tempers, Distempers, Dogmas, and Contentions which Appear when Human Affairs are Discussed and into the Possibility of Putting Some Rhyme and Reason into Processes of Discussion," Mr. Beard proceeds to analyze discussions from the standpoints of a speaker's experience, opinions, topic, and the reason for the type of response he is accorded by his listeners. The author, in applying the "latest researches and formulations of historiography" to his subject, believes those who are given over to a discussion of human or public affairs will find that a study of historiography will enable them to "distinguish somewhat effectively between fact and opinion, and to have various positions or points of view (tacit or admitted) from which any expression of opinion proceeds or takes direction."